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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Stability Government Appeals for Support *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Aktiv Founds Albanian National Union *[BASHKIMI 20 Oct]* 2
Union's Founding Resolution *[BASHKIMI 20 Oct]* 3
Assembly Discusses Public Order, Social Welfare *[ATA]* 4
Puke Strike Spreads; Transportation Paralyzed *[Tirana Radio]* 4
Miners Union Resolution Supports Strikes *[Tirana Radio]* 4
Chief of Staff Holds Conference on Army Reform *[Tirana Radio]* 4

BULGARIA

Further Reportage on President's Moscow Visit 5
Zhelev, Ludzhev Interviewed *[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME 24 Oct]* 5
Bulgarian-Russian Declaration *[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME 25 Oct]* 5
Cabinet Session Called on Ludzhev, Russian Agreement *[DUMA 24 Oct]* 7
Dimitrov Receives Soviet Envoy's Congratulations *[DEMOKRATSIYA 22 Oct]* 7
SDS 'Hostile Attitude' Toward USSR Criticized *[DUMA 25 Oct]* 7
SDS Mayors Elected in Larger Towns *[DEMOKRATSIYA 22 Oct]* 8
Further Details of BSP Plenum Reported *[DUMA 25 Oct]* 8
No BSP Assembly Boycott If DPS Election Legal *[BTA]* 10
Kostov Dreams of BSP as Modern Left-Wing Party *[DUMA 28 Oct]* 10
Zhelev Not Worried About DPS Role in Assembly *[Sofia Radio]* 10
Ilinden Linked to 'Serbian Expansionism' *[BTA]* 10
Data on Parties' Election Campaign Financing *[Sofia Radio]* 11
Sufficient Oil Supply Ensured Until End of Year *[DUMA 25 Oct]* 11
Tomov Views Reasons for Power-Supply Shortage *[Sofia Radio]* 11

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Havel Wants 'Concrete Results' in Talks on Setup *[CSTK]* 13
Czech Prime Minister Views Ties With Slovakia *[Prague Radio]* 13
Dienstbier Clarifies NATO Association Position *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 25 Oct]* 14
Dlouhy Reviews Trade Talks With U.S. *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 25 Oct]* 14
Commentary Says American Expectations Excessive *[LIDOVE NOVINY 26 Oct]* 14
Farmers Demonstrate in Prague, Bratislava *[CSTK]* 15
Real, Private Sector Earnings Development Reported *[RUDE PRAVO 23 Oct]* 15
Government Document Sees Unemployment, Price Increases *[RUDE PRAVO 25 Oct]* 16
Slovak Energy Status, Dependence on Czechs Viewed *[RESPEKT 21-27 Oct, etc]* 16

HUNGARY

Yugoslav Refugees Crossing Border in Pecs District *[Budapest Radio]* 18
Antall Discusses NATO Role, EC Association *[Budapest Radio]* 18
Antall Views Economic, Political, Foreign Affairs *[Budapest TV]* 18
Gyula Horn Discusses Media Role, Nationalism *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 25 Oct]* 22
MDF Faction Leader on Political Opposition *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 28 Oct]* 23

POLAND

Division of Newly Elected Senate Seats Outlined *[PAP]* 24
Democratic Union Leads in 98 Percent of Districts *[PAP]* 24

Warsaw District Reports Final Election Results *[PAP]* 24
President Walesa Issues Post-Election Statement *[Warsaw Radio]* 24
Proposes 3 'Variants' *[Warsaw TV]* 25
Meets With Kuron *[PAP]* 25
Walesa's Advisory Committee Stops Work 27 Oct *[Warsaw Radio]* 25
Press Views Leaders' Tasks Following Elections *[PAP]* 25
Poll Shows Public Opinion on Priority Issues *[PAP]* 26

ROMANIA

Stolojan on 'Dreadful' Energy Situation, Foreign Loans *[ROMPRES]* 27
Stolojan Asks Parliament To Approve Elections Date *[Bucharest Radio]* 27
Daily on FSN's Role in New Conditions *[AZI 24 Oct]* 28
Parliamentarians Condemn Separatist Moves *[ROMPRES]* 28
Silviu Brucan Discusses New Government *[TINERETUL LIBER 23 Oct]* 29
Dynamics of Foreign Investment Reviewed *[ROMPRES]* 30
Daily Advocates Currency Convertibility Postponement *[ROMPRES]* 31

YUGOSLAVIA

International

Report on Bank Transfer of Foreign Currency to PRC *[NEODVISNI DNEVNIK 24 Oct]* 32
Slovene Company Gets International Transit Permits *[Ljubljana Radio]* 32
Albanian Diplomat Arrested, Fined *[TANJUG]* 32
Kostic on Tudjman Policy, Austrian 'Interference' *[TANJUG]* 32
Foreign Officials Visit Dubrovnik; Arrival Delayed *[Zagreb Radio]* 33
Paper Condemns German Conduct Over Republics *[TANJUG]* 33

Federal

Opposition Agrees on Basics of Peace Accord *[TANJUG]* 33
Daily Says Europe Adjusting to Realities *[TANJUG]* 34

Slovenia

Commission Plans Active Role in Hague Conference *[TANJUG]* 34
Slovene Industrial Production Steady *[DELO 19 Oct]* 34

Croatia

Aircraft Fire Missiles at Osijek *[Zagreb Radio]* 35
Mesic Joins Dubrovnik-Bound Convoy *[TANJUG]* 35
Belgrade Daily Says 'Anarchy' Spreading *[TANJUG]* 36
Travel Restrictions Tightened for Men *[TANJUG]* 36
General Raseta Rejects Army Disengagement *[Zagreb Radio]* 36
TANJUG Roundup of Croatian Fighting 37

Serbia

Foreign Minister Veizovic Rejects EC 'Threats' *[TANJUG]* 37
Kosutic Assails Declaration *[TANJUG]* 37
Commentary on Deadline *[Belgrade Radio]* 38
Radical Party Rejects Hague Document *[Belgrade Radio]* 39
Kosovo Prime Minister Bukoshi Profiled *[BUJKU 24 Oct]* 39
Muslim Leaders Demands European Observers *[TANJUG]* 40

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Northeast Autonomous Region Elects Assembly *[Sarajevo Radio]* 40
Bosnian Parties Forum Demands Government's Removal *[TANJUG]* 40

Party of Democratic Action Proposes Referendum *[Sarajevo Radio]* 40
Platform on Bosnian Position in Future Country *[TANJUG]* 41
Muslim View on Republic's Plebiscite *[TANJUG]* 41
Kljujic Claims Group Training To 'Remove' Leaders *[Sarajevo Radio]* 41
Rail, Road Traffic Blocked, Delayed *[TANJUG]* 41

Montenegro

Citizens Ask Leaders To Review Hague Document *[TANJUG]* 42
Montenegrin Spokesman on Support for Croatians *[LIDOVE NOVINY 26 Oct]* 42

Macedonia

Vice President Georgijevski Meets U.S. Envoy *[TANJUG]* 42
Deserters Given Deadline To Return to Units *[TANJUG]* 43

Stability Government Appeals for Support

AU2910204891 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Statement by National Stability Government issued in Tirana on 29 October]

[Text] Four months have elapsed since the government shouldered the heavy and arduous task of stabilizing the country. Created on the basis of an agreement among the country's main political forces and performing its executive duties on the basis of the vote of confidence given to it by the People's Assembly, the government set aside party interests and began its work with the total civil commitment that the nation's interests demand. Committed to finding the most suitable solutions under conditions of poverty and a serious political crisis and with the aim of overcoming the crisis as soon and with as little pain as possible, the Stability Government considers it necessary to address the public with its concerns, which are and must be the concerns of all Albanians who sincerely hope and work for the country's full and thorough democratic rebirth.

Despite all efforts so far, the country's situation remains extremely serious. At a time when the people are being fed solely by foreign aid secured at great effort, there is such destructive behavior as the blockage of the railroad at Bajze, through which the majority of the necessary grain aid to feed all Albania arrives, the roadblock at Tepelene and the refusal to allow aid to pass to the southernmost part of the country, strikes, and attacks on warehouses in Permet, Lushnje, and Shkoder, which are against public order and the law and are therefore punishable.

There are major difficulties in providing heating for the people on the threshold of winter. Fuel has not been produced and transported on time. Measures are being taken to obtain part of it from abroad through aid or imports, but there are no few cases in which strikes or the irresponsibility of state authorities have hampered the supply of what fuel the country can produce. A considerable part of the economy is paralyzed because of the shortage of raw materials, or is not working. Meanwhile, people are being paid 80 percent of their wages from the state treasury, which is a large and continually increasing debt. Nevertheless, there are ever-increasing demands for pay increases, subsidies, and other similar claims that cannot realistically be fulfilled.

Rising crime and violations of public order are assuming dimensions that threaten to become uncontrollable. Despite the measures being taken to strengthen and reform public order, the government considers that the forces of order require understanding and support from everyone.

Within a relatively short time, the government presented its program of economic reform, which found approval in the People's Assembly. It is working hard to introduce without delay the relevant legislation to ensure that progress toward an economic system based on citizens' free and creative initiative will be as calm as possible. Our economic reform is based on today's social and economic reality, which, although serious, is not insoluble. It is also based on the real support offered by other countries because it reflects the ideas and principles accepted by the civilized world. It is now clear to everyone that the world will help our people on the road of reform, but we must first of all help ourselves.

For these reasons, the successive enactment of the measures of the reform is the only way to save the country, overcome the crisis, and make it possible to create an effective economy for citizens and the state. The Albanian people are faced with the choice of either reform, which means a way out of the crisis, or the obstruction of reform, which means a blind alley, chaos, further misery, and new isolation. We see no other alternative.

The Stability Government, despite the extremely grave situation inherited from the past, is ready and undertakes the responsibility of beginning the large-scale implementation of the reform. The government thinks that transparency and openness with the public at large and understanding from the political forces and trade unions are necessary conditions for raising everyone's responsibility for the country's destiny. Albania's destiny is not solely in the hands of the Stability Government but in the hands of all Albanians. Without shrinking from its civil commitment to solve national problems and to secure the normal progress of the reform, the government sees it vital to achieve an all-people's consensus and to secure the support of all political forces and the trade unions.

This general understanding for the road that links our dire present to the future to which we aspire is a patriotic act. This understanding demands that everyone understand the country's extreme situation and the possible ways of overcoming it. Our country genuinely stands on the brink of economic, social, and political chaos. The future of Albania will be decided today. It depends on the commitment of every Albanian and a common awareness of the difficulties we must confront.

Every citizen, by his attitude and behavior, has his own and his country's destiny in his hands. This destiny has two paths. The first is that of trust, honest labor, and respect for the law. On this difficult road, we will also secure the necessary political and financial support of the international community as a necessary condition for overcoming the crisis. The second road is that of confusion, parasitism, revolt, irresponsibility, political speculation and demagoguery, abuses, and other illegal behavior.

We must all realize where this road leads. Our country has not been healed of the consequences of a long isolation from the civilized world. It must therefore not slip into a new isolation that would be more fatal than the first. This would be the world's abandonment of us, not our isolation from the world. This is why a consensus is necessary, asking us all to look forward together, and asking each of us to shoulder the responsibility and the sacrifices that belong to him. No one must think that

reform will bring prosperity overnight. Anyone who preaches this deceives himself and others. All those who encourage innumerable peremptory demands, without reflecting on the fact that no one is able to give something he does not possess, prolongs the state of paralysis, incites tensions, and sows the seeds of conflict.

The government is convinced that the continual satisfaction of working people's demands is conditional on unblocking labor and production through the reform. The Stability Government has no possibility of immediately paying all the debts of the failed governments of the earlier regime. The government has worked to convince everyone of this and to lift the threat of chaos from the country. It has also sought the views and support of political forces, the trade unions, and various associations. The government observes with particular concern that this support has in many cases remained at the level of words and declarations, without any guarantee of concrete support. At a time when European states, the United States, the and international institutions to whom we have turned for help are closer to us than ever, this lack of support at home sounds incomprehensible and therefore absurd.

The government will still not spare its efforts to reach an understanding with political forces, with the aim of carrying out its commitments to the end. It will always be open to the people and does not in any event wish to disclaim its responsibility before the country because of the obstacles placed in its path. It trusts in the people's wise appreciation of the need to enforce the law and public order and to put a stop to all efforts at destabilization.

Albania's entry into the CSCE, the IMF, the World Bank, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, its acceptance as a country that will benefit from the Group of 24, its many agreements with different states, and the laws and decrees we have adopted all outline a positive course for our future. Successful daily labor is a thousand times more valuable than words in sharing out with goodwill our responsibilities for the nation's future.

Aktiv Founds Albanian National Union

AU2910135691 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 20 Oct 91 p 1

[Article by Kristo Mertiri: "The Ideal That Keeps Unity Alive"]

[Text] Patriotism! This is the ideal that has inspired and kept alive Albanian unity down the generations. Political pluralism does not make this ideal obsolete. On the contrary, democracy rejuvenates it and enables it to breathe more deeply, divested of all narrow interests and party prejudices. Today, more than ever, we need all-national unity in our work and lives, everywhere. This is the only way of advancing in a dignified way toward Europe. This is the only way that democracy will grow to full stature. This healthy patriotic spirit pervaded the aktiv of the Democratic Front of Albania [FDSh], with its sense of responsibility, tolerance, openness, and genuine civil concern, and its dissociation from everything negative from the monist era.

Zeqir Lushaj, secretary to the FDSh's Managing Council, made the keynote speech.

He emphasized among other things that our national aktiv held today has no intention of undertaking an analysis or assessment of the FDSh's history of several decades down to the present day. I think we are all agreed on the FDSh's dissolution and on letting history judge its positive or negative role, its defects as an organization, and the faults of its leaders.

Without embarking on such an assessment, we wish merely to stress various reasons that have led us, the Managing Council, to the conviction that the FDSh must be dissolved.

First, in meetings and consultations in different districts of the country with activists of the FDSh and of various other organizations, intellectuals, and representatives of the country's political forces and religious communities, the view has prevailed that the FDSh, in the present state to which it has been reduced, cannot and should not continue to function.

Second, with all its virtues and vices, the FDSh belonged to the time of the Albanian Workers Party's [PPSh] monism, an era on which the PPSh and its levers themselves have turned their backs. We now live under totally new conditions and are trying to build an entirely new democratic and pluralist system in all fields of life. Under such circumstances, we need an entirely new concept and structure in order to put behind us all the damaging legacies of monism and to construct a democratic and up-to-date all-people's and all-national organization.

In their present form, both the program and the statute of the FDSh, the basic documents of any organization, are totally unacceptable for our dynamic times and the progressive developments the country is undergoing. We can state outright that these documents are totally valueless and are simply relics of the monism the whole of society disowns.

Third, new political and social groupings have arisen throughout the country under political pluralism. We sincerely wish all the parties, organizations, associations, and religious communities that are being organized success and fruitful work toward the patriotic goals they have set themselves. However, it must be recognized and admitted that, under these conditions, there are plenty of people in both the towns and the countryside who, turning their backs on the PPSh's mistaken policies, have also disowned the PPSh's instruments, including the FDSh. Thus, as the sole all-people's organization, we have lost many members and supporters.

Fourth, the very name FDSh has become obsolete and is a faded relic of monism. We do not in any way say that this organization never did anything good. It must

nevertheless be frankly and honestly admitted that many bitter memories are tied to the FDSh's name, such as signs of sectarianism in the conduct of the class war, the many public exposures of people with different political and religious convictions, the approval of many repressive measures such as imprisonments and internments, the withdrawal of many FDSh membership cards as a form of deep political differentiation among the people, and other like measures. The FDSh's sectarianism, a result of its position as an instrument of the PPSh, has in general put off thousands of people.

Fifth, the political and social development on which Albania has embarked necessarily demands of all parties, organizations, and associations, whether old or new, the qualities of openness, frankness, honesty, and sincerity in all of their activities and decisions. The word renewal seems to us inadequate and not entirely accurate for our organization, when we talk about the new historically important leaps forward that our beloved homeland is making today. Why should we patch an old "rag" when we can "tailor" an entirely new costume?

The public, he said later, has so far welcomed the platform and concept of the new organization. The Managing Council has worked diligently to present in concentrated form this general view of the political forces, intellectuals, the FDSh's activists and well-wishers, and some compatriots with whom we have had the opportunity of making contact and exchanging views.

Activists from Mat, Tirana, Tropoje, Durres, Puke, Lezhe, Vlore, Shkoder, Kolonje, and Sarande spoke and debated openly, with frankness and sincerity.

"No political party can achieve this broad unity," Agim Marqeshi from Mat emphasized. "I think that the political parties, social organizations, and religious denominations will also find their place in the draft platform of the Albanian National Union we are discussing today. The doors are open to everyone.

The motto of this unity was first launched at the Assembly of Lezhe [summoned by Skenderbeg in 1444]. It represents a valuable popular tradition that must be enriched and revived under new conditions. Albanianness is a centuries-old faith that must never wither. This faith, to which we are all devoted, has kept us alive as a people and a nation. But what position will this new organization assume today? Agim Cerga spoke about this. He considered the creation of the organization to be a historical necessity. The brilliant example of the conciliation of blood feuds in Kosovo says a great deal and remains an ever-constant inspiration. We need conciliation and social peace like bread, like water.

Why was the speech of Rukie Rama from Tropoje followed with such interest? This woman was persecuted under one-party rule. Her life story makes you shiver, but also makes you think. "I am not in any way for revenge. I am for national unity," she emphasized. She also made valuable suggestions for work with the intelligentsia, making it a promoter and an organizer of the Albanian National Union, and so forth. When it is a question of patriotism and unity and democracy, wise people and democrats set aside purely personal interests and their different sufferings. It was not for nothing that Rukie was elected to lead this pluralist organization in her district.

The activist Pirro Begvarfi from Tirana said, "I think that no past or present party leader should lead the organization we are creating."

Many participants in the aktiv supported this view. Azbi Laci from Puke and Gjon Simoni from Lezhe also spoke about various problems.

"It has not been anyone's initiative to create this organization," Haxhi Aliko stressed. "It is a necessity of the times. The FDSh was destroyed by the 31 March elections, when the PPSh sacrificed it. I think that work does not stop with the organization's creation. The organization should not adopt any standpoint on candidates in the next elections but should ease all tensions during the electoral campaign. The people want proof."

Luan Rama and Alfred Xhomo, secretaries of the Youth Federation and the Trade Union Confederation of Albania, also greeted the aktiv.

At the end, the participants decided unanimously to call today's meeting "The Founding Aktiv of the Albanian National Union."

Union's Founding Resolution

AU2910143791 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 20 Oct 91 p 1

[Resolution of the Founding Aktiv of the Albanian National Union held in Tirana on 19 October]

[Text] The aktiv held on 19 October 1991 decided:

1. To announce the dissolution of the Democratic Front of Albania.

2. To announce the creation of the independent social and political organization of the Albanian National Union [Bashkimi Kombetar Shqiptar] and to approve its platform. This platform is to be published in the press as soon as the organization is approved by the Justice Ministry.

3. The managing councils recently elected centrally and in the districts will act as initiating commissions for the creation of the Albanian National Union. These commissions are open to all activists, regardless of their political convictions or religious allegiances.

4. To call on all Albanians living on their own territories beyond the Republic of Albania and those of the diaspora to create initiating commissions and to join this all-national organization.

5. The material and financial resources at present belonging to the Democratic Front of Albania will pass into the hands of the Albanian National Union.

6. The first national assembly of the Albanian National Union will be held in 1992.

7. The Albanian National Union will present the necessary documentation for the Justice Ministry's approval.

Assembly Discusses Public Order, Social Welfare

AU2910142391 Tirana ATA in English 0954 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Tirana, October 29 (ATA)—The People's Assembly continued its proceedings in plenary sitting on October 28, afternoon. At the beginning the vice chairman of the Presidency, Lush Perpali, informed the deputies that Bajram Yzeiri, minister of public order, wanted to take the floor and the Presidency of the People's Assembly in consultation with the chairmen of the parliamentary groups agreed to this.

The minister of the public order, Bajram Yzeiri, presented a report on the rather grave situation of the public order. Right after him, many deputies took the floor. They voiced their opinion that the report was unnecessary and that the situation of the public order should be extensively discussed, something they were not prepared to do. The deputies stressed that without a quiet and stable public order the application of the economic reform they had just approved could not be guaranteed. All the deputies were of the same opinion that the problems of order should be seriously dwelt upon. They made concrete remarks and proposals. The deputies reached the conclusion that this question should be discussed at a special sitting, in the presence of the members of the government, the chairman of the Supreme Court, the general attorney, and the chairman of the General Investigation Office.

At this the sitting was closed. The next one examined the Draft Law "On the Social Assistance for Persons Who Remain Jobless as a Result of the Application of the Economic Reform."

Puke Strike Spreads; Transportation Paralyzed

AU2910151391 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Our Puke correspondent Rrok Lencaj reported to us at 1330 today that the general strike in this district is continuing and even assumed larger dimensions this morning. According to reports, bus drivers and truck drivers have joined the strike. Vehicles from other neighboring districts that pass through this district in transit have also been blockaded and are not moving. As a result of the paralysis of transportation, many workers of the procurement enterprises, flour mills, bakeries, and hospitals have not managed to reach work, although these workplaces were not included in the strike under an agreement with the Strike Committee. These enterprises, including the bakeries and flour mills, are not working, or are working intermittently and with great difficulty. Despite the talks that have been held, the strike is spreading, and the agreement that had been welcomed is not holding.

Miners Union Resolution Supports Strikes

AU2910211391 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] A resolution of the first national conference of the Independent Trade Union of Miners, Geologists, and Mineral Processors pointed out that the conference analyzed the activity of the trade union so far, assessed successes and shortcomings, and set tasks for the future. It reached the conclusion that, to confront the major problems of the times, the trade union will closely watch the bill on collective contracts, the social assistance bill, the general strike in Puke District, and the strikes at Prrenjas and Bulqize, whose demands are fair and feasible.

The conference expressed the thought that the views of the trade union must be borne in mind in drafting the economic reform and restructuring the organization of the mines and geological services. Likewise, the views of the trade unions must be considered when the law on the status of the trade unions is approved.

The conference also discussed how the Mining Directorates in the Ministry of Mining Resources and Energy should be organized. The conference expressed the conviction that the implementation of the points in its resolution will meet with the support of the entire trade union movement of miners, geologists, and mineral processors because the resolution is totally in the service of this movement.

Chief of Staff Holds Conference on Army Reform

AU2910211091 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] The Defense Ministry organized a news conference in one of the halls of the Central Army House today about the Army reform and the problems arising from its implementation at a time of democratic developments.

Kostaq Karoli, chief of the Army General Staff, concentrated on the main guidelines of work in carrying out the military reform and particularly stressed matters related to improving legislation, revising military doctrine and all military regulations, improving organizational structures, modernizing technology and weaponry, and the Army's assistance in solving problems of civilian life.

In the course of the news conference, the chief of the Army General Staff replied to the questions of those present about the need to further strengthen the Army and defense in all ways under the circumstances of the situation at home, in the Balkans, and beyond; about the duties and rights of servicemen that arise from their status; and so forth.

Further Reportage on President's Moscow Visit

Zhelev, Ludzhev Interviewed

AU2910183891 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 24 Oct 91 pp 1, 4

[Interview with President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev and Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev by Vasilina Andonova in Sofia on 23 October: "A Model for Relations Based on Equal Rights"]

[Text] Our aim was natural, to learn 'firsthand' the most important news right after the Bulgarian delegation's arrival in Sofia.

[Andonova] Mr. Zhelev, are you satisified with your talks with Russian President Yeltsin?

[Zhelev] I am extremely satisfied. The results surpassed the expectations that we set off with. You know about the important documents we signed. However, the most significant thing was that, for the first time since our liberation from the Turkish yoke, the head of government of an independent sovereign Bulgaria met with the head of government of a democratic Russia.

[Andonova] What will we find out from the KGB archives?

[Zhelev] Boris Yeltsin promised us full cooperation not only in connection with the KGB archives but also with those of the CPSU. We will ask for an opportunity to photograph everything that concerns Bulgaria. At the same time, I want to emphasize that there is nothing secret or hidden about our talks that have just taken place in Moscow: Bulgarian society will have an opportunity to acquaint itself with the full text of all of the documents signed.

[Andonova] Did Bulgaria and Russia succeed in getting away from the "totalitarian hat"?

[Zhelev] That is an ideological question.

[Andonova] Mr. Ludzhev, what is the Balkan aspect of the talks held with RSFSR?

[Ludzhev] Russia supports our foreign policy not only in the Balkans but also in general. I believe that with these talks we achieved something great—a balance between the East and the West. The RSFSR's leadership highly assesses our stand on recognizing every nation's right to self-determination, including the right of state independence. President Yeltsin stated that the relations that are being established at present between Bulgaria and Russia can also act as a model for other East European countries. Thus, in this respect, we have overtaken countries such as Poland, the CSFR, and Hungary. On the other hand, our new relations with the RSFSR are a solid balance that will stabilize our national security and the defense of our national interests in every aspect.

[Andonova] Will November be favorable for the Bulgarian economy?

[Ludzhev] Look, we signed an agreement for the mutual exchange of goods to the value of $350 million from each country. On the one hand, we receive raw materials—most important, sufficient oil for the first quarter of next year; on the other, we have found a market for our agricultural produce. This guarantees work for our companies, wages for our workers, and heating and light for the winter. I am firmly convinced that everything we agreed upon will be carried out. The tasks are extremely dynamic, and the commitments that President Yeltsin and the Russian Government undertook are completely categorical.

[Andonova] What do you think about the "totalitarian hat"?

[Ludzhev] Boris Yeltsin stated that it is simply unnecessary, but, in his opinion, it has still not been totally eliminated. However, the process has begun. The Russian president stressed that no totalitarian hat will get in the way of cooperation between our two democratic countries.

At Sofia airport, the delegation was met by Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers Dimitur Popov, Foreign Minister Viktor Vulkov, and other officials.

Bulgarian-Russian Declaration

AU3010102291 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 25 Oct 91 pp 1, 4

["Joint Declaration of Presidents Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev and Boris Yeltsin," signed in Moscow during Zhelev's 21-23 October visit to the RSFSR]

[Text] The Republic of Bulgaria and the RSFSR,

led by their desire to fully develop traditionally bilateral relations of friendship, good-neighborliness, and cooperation,

confirming their adherence to the principles of the UN Charter, the edicts of the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter on New Europe, and the other CSCE documents,

convinced of the necessity of constructing a new Europe, united by common values and turning it into a continent of peace, security, and cooperation,

confirming that respecting human rights and basic freedoms and the principles of humanism and democracy is an important precondition of a qualitatively new European structure,

noting that the profound changes in the political and economic systems of the Republic of Bulgaria and the RSFSR and the similarity of the democratic processes that are taking place in both countries reveal new possibilities of cooperation between them,

noting the solidarity of the Bulgarian president and people with the Russian leadership and people during the grave days of the attempt to carry out a state coup in the USSR in August 1991,

and desirous to give a new quality to their relations

DECLARE:

1. Relations between the Republic of Bulgaria and the RSFSR, called hereafter the parties, are based on the universally recognized norms of international law, respect for the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity, equality, mutual noninterference in internal affairs, good-neighborliness, and mutual cooperation.

The parties confirm the right of all peoples and states to freely determine their destinies without any foreign interference, and to implement their political, economic, social, and cultural development according to their own wills.

2. The parties intend to cooperate also in the future in developing the process of security and cooperation in Europe and in creating a uniform legal, cultural, and economic zone on the European continent.

3. The parties declare their readiness to develop bilateral relations and cooperation in the political, economic, scientific-technical, environmental, information, cultural, humanitarian, and other spheres of mutual interest.

4. The parties intend to maintain regular contacts at the level of governments, ministries, and departments and encourage direct contacts between administrative-territorial units and the municipal authorities of the two countries.

The parties will devote special attention to developing interlegislative relations and exchanges.

5. With a view to expanding and strengthening friendly relations and cooperation between the Republic of Bulgaria and the RSFSR, the parties will cooperate in developing free contacts between their citizens, political parties, trade unions, and religious and other organizations of the two countries. They intend to simplify the administrative procedures and practice of implementing those contacts, something that will have special importance for their mutual acquaintance and in strengthening mutual understanding between the peoples of the two states.

6. The parties will pay special attention to developing mutually beneficial economic cooperation. They will attribute great importance to perfecting the mechanism of mutually beneficial economic relations, and, for this purpose, they will create the necessary legal-contractual foundation.

The parties will strive to preserve as long as necessary the traditional economic and trade relations that have justified their existence, noting the two parties' needs and real options.

The parties will ensure favorable economic, financial, and judicial conditions for the various forms of entrepreneurial and other economic activity, including the stimulation and protection of mutual capital investments, as well as easing conditions for transferring goods, services, manpower, and capital across the border. The parties will refrain from discriminatory measures in their bilateral economic relations. They will cooperate in establishing businesslike cooperation at the regional and local level, as well as relations between the two countries' judicial and physical persons.

The parties will cooperate in establishing favorable conditions for developing modern forms of trade exchange, as well as economic and scientific-technical cooperation based on the principle of mutual benefit. They will cooperate in establishing direct relations between enterprises, companies, and organizations by broadly using market structures.

7. The parties intend to implement broad cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection and the rational utilization of natural resources, on the basis of mutual interest.

8. The parties declare their aspiration to develop fruitful cooperation in the spheres of culture, the arts, education, and science.

The parties confirm their readiness to provide all interested persons with free access to the language and culture of the other side and to support the relevant state, public, and other initiatives.

9. The parties will maintain regular consultations on issues of bilateral relations and international issues of mutual interest and will cooperate in the international organizations in which they are members or that they intend to join.

The parties agreed to sign a protocol on consultations between the two states' Ministries of Foreign Affairs.

10. The parties agreed to prepare and sign a protocol on establishing diplomatic relations between the Republic of Bulgaria and the RSFSR.

11. The parties will soon prepare and sign a Treaty in Good-Neighbor Relations and Cooperation Between the Republic of Bulgaria and the RSFSR, based on this joint declaration.

Cabinet Session Called on Ludzhev, Russian Agreement

AU2910152391 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 24 Oct 91 p 2

[DUMA PRESS report: "Extraordinary Session of Cabinet Gives Ludzhev Powers From a Distance"]

[Text] After learning from the newspapers that his deputy Dimitur Ludzhev was to sign agreements with Russia, Bulgarian Prime Minister Dimitur Popov called an extraordinary government Cabinet session on 23 October.

The government decided to establish diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and the Russian Federation. It gave Deputy Prime Minister Ludzhev, included in the presidential delegation and enjoying the president's trust, the authority to sign the relevant document.

In this way, sources close to the government stated, the concern of the other deputy prime minister, Aleksandur Tomov, was confirmed—that a new form of totalitarianism was emerging through which, in a way known in the past, functions of individual government employees are taken away and a monopoly of one political force is established over the country's foreign economic and political activities.

Dimitrov Receives Soviet Envoy's Congratulations

AU2910143391 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 22 Oct 91 p 2

[Report by Krum Dimitrov]

[Text] On 21 October, Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], received Viktor Sharapov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria, at his request. As Mr. Dimitrov informed us, Ambassador Sharapov conveyed his congratulations on the SDS's victory in the legislative elections. "In conversation, we also touched on matters of economic cooperation between the two countries, but, just at the moment when such an impressive delegation led by President Zhelev is leaving for Moscow, we can hardly give the details," Mr. Dimitrov commented.

For his part, Mr. Sharapov said that thoughts had been exchanged at the meeting on an assessment of the election results and prospects for Bulgarian-Soviet and Bulgarian-Russian relations. "We were unanimous that these relations have historic roots and that they must continue to develop in the future—in the economic and also in the cultural sphere. Some people may not like the election result, but this is the will of the Bulgarian people and deserves deep respect. You have many problems, but they are well known to us from our own present-day fate. I am confident that these problems will be resolved along the road of democracy—this is what we want for ourselves; this we also desire for Bulgaria.

SDS 'Hostile Attitude' Toward USSR Criticized

AU2910181291 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 25 Oct 91 p 4

[Article by Stefan Prodev: "Misunderstanding or Game?"]

[Text] The Kremlin gates were almost open, but they were unexpectedly closed in the face of the guest. Mr. Zhelev could not shake the hand of Mr. Gorbachev. Unlike some other capitals, Moscow apparently decided to show the Bulgarians that democracy and good manners are two different things. This is so because, while our president assured Yeltsin about our tender feelings for Moscow, unknown or perhaps known hands desecrated the Soviet Army Monument in Sofia. Apparently the Kremlin found it difficult to believe in the sincerity of the feelings that were expressed. Politics is politics, but the blood that was shed in the struggle against fascism continues to torment the Russian soul. Respect for this blood is a fateful sign for that soul. Therefore, we must not be surprised by the closing of the Kremlin gates. In addition to being president, Gorbachev is also a human being.

Of course, the desecration of the Soviet Army Monument in Sofia is not an isolated act. The hostile attitude of the Union of Democratic Forces—Movement [SDS-Movement] toward the USSR and restructuring is not a new phenomenon. Remember the cartoons and diatribe in the blue press that ridiculed Gorbachev's diplomatic efforts and the bitter fate of the Soviet peoples. Remember the rallies of the two fingers [two fingers forming the latter V for victory was a symbolic gesture used by the SDS supporters in public rallies] in front of the USSR Embassy in Sofia, the insulting slogans, and the desecration of the Soviet soldiers' graves in various Bulgarian cities. Remember the anti-Soviet screams of the blue deputies in the legislature and the efforts of the SDS ministers to disrupt normal economic relations between Bulgaria and the USSR. All of this was not an innocent children's game that could be forgotten because of an official visit. Gorbachev demonstrated, albeit delicately, that, in addition to good manners, good memory is a part of politics.

If the aforementioned facts did not exist, one could describe the step of the Soviet president as rude. Now it merely is a gesture against a policy that has no future. Perhaps Moscow wants to remind us that respect requires respect and that an old love means nothing if the street desecrates it. Let us hope that the president and the new government ponder this conclusion because, even Yeltsin, who unlike Gorbachev shook Zhelev's hand, did not forget to say that Moscow will reassess certain "velvet revolutions." It must be so because the over anti-Sovietism of those "revolutions" usually ends in a most vulgar Russophobia, and Mr. Yeltsin is not only a democrat but also a Russian patriot of the best type.

However, regardless of the Kremlin incident, the presidents of Bulgaria and Russia signed documents that inspire hope. It would be wonderful if those documents mark only the beginning of an active economic and political connection between the two states and the USSR. Such a connection would have fateful importance for us. Bulgarian products badly need the market in the East, not only because of its traditional relations with the East but also because of its unlimited possibilities. It is an open secret that Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Romania look toward this market with open eyes. We must also open our eyes because the key to reviving our production and resolving the problem of unemployment is still in the East rather than in the West. Russia and the USSR really are in a grave economic situation; however, the Volga has not dried up yet. It will never dry up because the land on which the greatest European river flows is a great country.

The future will show whether the meeting between Gorbachev and Zhelev was postponed only because of some misunderstanding or whether it was an expression of lasting suspicion. In any event, our politicians—first of all, the head of state—must stop and think rather than feel insulted. The insult is not a political concept. Only the sober reason, the reason of the interests, plays a role in politics. Let us leave the emotions to the poets. The hand Gorbachev did not offer must be sought after, not because it is greater than other hands but because it is more powerful and richer. It will be much more difficult to resolve our problems if we turn our back to than hand. There is not a closer hand for us in Europe or the world. This must be remembered. Therefore, no one should dramatize the inhospitality of the Kremlin, and this includes even Dr. Zhelev, who has the justification to feel slighted. Somehow, as a state rather than as a people, we provoked this inhospitality. It depends only on us whether we can acquire it again—naturally, without losing our dignity. When you are poor and weak, you must avoid allowing the street to influence your state behavior. Otherwise, other gates will also close in our faces.

Finally, let me note that, if someone regrets the fact that the meeting between Mr. Zhelev and Mr. Gorbachev did not take place, then it is we Socialists who have always supported developing close relations between Bulgaria and Russia and between Bulgaria and the USSR. We do not mean the old ideological, political, and economic relations from the time of totalitarianism but the creation of a new status while establishing such relations. The development of democracy needs such relations, and no one has the right to block or destroy them. In this context, we are alarmed by the closing of the Kremlin gates. Let us hope that it really was the result of some misunderstanding rather than an insulting diplomatic game.

SDS Mayors Elected in Larger Towns

AU2910202391 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 22 Oct 91 p 1

[DUMA staff report]

[Text] The second round of mayoral elections confirmed the tendency that the larger the municipality's population, the more likely its mayor is to be a representative of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. The results of Sunday's ballots in the country's individual constituencies are indicative: Dobrich, Blagoevgrad, Khaskovo, Kyustendil, Kazanluk, Botevgrad, and others proved with their choice the SDS's influence in the large towns.

Here are the results of the second round of elections held on 20 October, according to information received before 2100 on 21 October: 25 mayors have been elected from the SDS, 15 from the Bulgarian Socialist Party, two from the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, three from the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union-United, and one from the SDS-Center.

The SDS won the mayoral elections in:

Avren—Varna Region—Elisaveta Ivanova
Dobrich—Yosif Marinov
Preslav—Shumen Region—Zhelez Zhelezov
Smyadovo—Shumen Region—Nedyu Dzhankov
Ugurchin—Lovech Region—Milena Moneva
Letnitsa—Lovech Region—Yordan Tsonchev
Sevlievo—Gabrovo Region—Dancho Danchev
Svishtov—Veliko Turnovo Region—Krasimir Krustev
Lyaskovets—Veliko Turnovo Region—Khristofor Kalendzhiev
Botevgrad—Sofia Region—Tsvetan Gerov
Godech—Sofia Region—Nikolay Tashkov
Samokov—Sofia Region—Nikolay Kitov
Slivnitsa—Sofia Region—Asen Lilov
Kostinbrod—Sofia Region—Kosta Bozhinov
Kyustendil—Ivan Gyurginchev
Dupnitsa—Kyustendil Region—Dr. Pancho Panayotov
Blagoevgrad—Eliana Maseva
Strumyani Municipality—Blagoevgrad Region—Botyo Penev
Razlog Municipality—Blagoevgrad Region—Kostadin Rachev
Rakitovo—Pazardzhik Region—Veneta Zakharieva
Chepelare—Smolyan Region—Kostadin Pepelyanov
Kazanluk—Stara Zagora Region—Boncho Sarafov
Khaskovo—Stoyan Iliev
Sozopol—Burgas Region—Dragomir Ivanov

Congratulations to all the new mayors!

Further Details of BSP Plenum Reported

AU2910125991 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 25 Oct 91 pp 1, 8

[Report by Boyka Bashlieva and Dora Chichkova: "40th BSP Congress To Take Place in First Half of December"]

[Text] The plenum of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council, which ended in the early hours of 24 October, decided to convene the 40th BSP Congress in the first half of December.

The plenum adopted the congress agenda. It includes a political report by the party chairman on the BSP's line and further changes under the new conditions; reports by the parliamentary faction and the All-Party Control Commission; and a report on party property and the use of the party headquarters building. The various ideological centers within the party, as well as individual Socialists, can submit alternative documents on the party's political line. Thus, the proposal on establishing alternative commissions for preparing the documents of the forthcoming congress, which were made during the plenum discussion, was officially adopted.

One delegate to the congress will represent 800 Socialists. Municipal organizations that have fewer than 800 members will be able to send their own delegates. Accountability-election meetings of the basic party organizations and municipal conferences must take place by the end of November.

On the basis of the discussion that took place at the plenum and the proposals that were made, the BSP Presidium will prepare a declaration on the election results and the ensuing tasks. The BSP Presidium will also publish an address to the voters after the last round of the municipal elections.

The BSP has nothing to be ashamed of because, even in the current international situation, it gained 44 percent of the seats in the National Assembly, Aleksandur Lilov said in his concluding speech. According to him, the most important thing now is to create a normal political and cadre atmosphere in the party. The legislature, the presidential elections, and the congress are the three important factors on which the BSP must concentrate.

According to Aleksandur Lilov, the threat to the party's integrity comes from two directions: The first is the radical rightist wing of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], which champions political extremism. It is supported by the president and the government, and in the National Assembly itself. However, I do not fear this danger, Lilov said. The BSP can cope with it, despite the fact that some members could leave the party.

According to the chairman, the greater danger exists within the party itself—namely, its disunited leadership.

The plenum revealed the new spasm in the Presidium. Aleksandur Lilov said that he was not surprised by the stormy discussion. Its painful character was related to the painful nature of the change itself, and, therefore, it could not have been avoided. However, the only correct road is to hear the various opinions and combine the different tendencies. It is normal to have different opinions, but it is abnormal to be irreconcilable, Lilov thinks. He said that he supports a deep, solid, and lasting change in the party, aimed at preserving it as a political factor rather than turning it into a phantom similar to others that rove in Eastern Europe.

Lilov admitted that the BSP was late in resolving the issue of its property. However, the issue could be resolved because there is a principled position on it. Every attempt at total confiscation will weigh on the consciences of those who carry it out.

Georgi Pirinski is convinced that only people untarnished by the past should form the party leadership. According to him, an attempt to conduct a personal struggle hides behind the ideas about the necessity of a more rapid change that were expressed at the plenum.

The BSP influence is still based on inertia and on the fact that people still connect the party with the power that will preserve what has been achieved rather than the power that introduces new elements, Lyubomir Kyuchukov said. According to him, the accusations of nationalism are a serious problem. The party's position on the ethnic issue must be viewed in the light of the general principles of human rights.

Apostol Dimitrov thinks that the party achieved to a significant degree what it planned to achieve in the elections, but greater success was possible. According to him, the election results correctly reflect the strength of the political forces.

An ozone layer formed around the BSP after signing the Constitution, and now we see that this layer has been pierced, Velislava Dureva said. According to her, the causes were related to the reaction to the coup in the USSR, the manner in which the preelection alliance was formed, and the constant striving of the leadership to balance the positions, something that, in the final analysis, leads to stagnation.

Yanaki Stoilov thinks that the BSP can no longer rely on everyday life romanticism and the memories of social security. According to him, the party must continue its work in this area, mainly through a strong socioeconomic initiative and policy. It is time to identify those extraparliamentary parties with which the BSP will seek contacts and to strengthen relations with the trade unions. Yanaki Stoilov forecasts a certain withdrawal of the party members from the party and explains this with the situation that emerged after the elections.

Valeri Petrov anticipates a very difficult period for the BSP. It will come from the right, from the striving to restore the old system. Therefore, the conflicts within the Presidium must not be tolerated. The wound in this organ must be healed so that it does not cause paralysis.

Dimitur Yonchev said that there is nothing amoral in the Presidium. The problems pile up as if brought by an avalanche, and it is not always easy to resolve them. Contradictory tendencies emerge in every society. Many and various ideas and opinions related to developing the party and its goals and manner of acting have emerged in the past 18 months. However, this is not a struggle for

power, Dimitur Yonchev said, thus defending the Presidium. He supported the idea that different variants on the party future be submitted to the congress.

Chavdar Kyuranov subscribed and added to Yonchev's thesis. According to him, there are two wings within the party leadership, and they have different opinions about the speed of the changes. The party succeeded in preserving social peace but could not prevent the great movement of society toward the right. According to Kyuranov, the party has closed itself within its realm and isolated itself vis-a-vis the other formations and the trade unions, which is a serious weakness. In connection with possible repressions, Kyuranov sees the survival of the BSP and its members and supporters as a task of paramount importance.

Vasil Donchev, Sashka Karakasheva, Zhan Videnov, Vulcho Radev, Ognyan Surdolov, and Stilyan Ivanov also took part in the discussion.

No BSP Assembly Boycott If DPS Election Legal

AU2910153991 Sofia BTA in English 1511 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 29 (BTA)—The Socialist, formerly Communist, Party will recognize any decision of the Constitutional Court on the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS). Ms. Nora Ananieva, who will lead the parliamentary group of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] again, told the press today that the BSP will not boycott parliament if the Constitutional Court finds the election of the DPS's candidates legitimate.

Jurists of the BSP say that it would take the Constitutional Court quite some time to judge on the constitutionality of the DPS. If the court acknowledges the DPS's legitimacy "we have and we shall pursue other options for solving the concrete problems in parliament," Ms. Ananieva said today. She pointed out that last year she had no differences with an MP [member of parliament] of the Movement with whom she worked in the Parliamentary Committee on Social Affairs.

Ex-Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov, an influential figure in the BSP circles, believes that the problem with the DPS has not only a legal but also a political aspect: None of the parliamentary forces holds an absolute majority and therefore none can act as a ruling force without the support of the DPS. "But the political force which will choose to cooperate with the DPS will become its political hostage," Mr. Lukanov pointed out.

The parliamentary group of the BSP is already discussing the parliamentary rules of procedure. The Socialists will nominate their own candidate for chairman of parliament. The SDS's [Union of Democratic Forces'] nominee is Mr. Stefan Savov, leader of the Democratic Party.

Kostov Dreams of BSP as Modern Left-Wing Party

AU2910201491 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 28 Oct 91 p 2

[Report by Katya Karagyaurova: "Minister Kostov Dreams of Seeing Bulgarian Socialist Party on the Streets"]

[Text] My only political ambition is to see the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] turned into a modern left-wing party, Finance Minister Kostov told a DUMA reporter on his return from Bangkok and Taipei. To achieve this, he has set himself the task of implementing a property claim on this party and thus depriving it of the financial foundation of its strength.

In such a way, the party apparatus, which employs about 2,000 persons, will be destroyed, the minister explained. Having such an apparatus means that a second administrative structure that must be eliminated exists in the country. I am doing this party a favor so that it will become a real, modern left-wing party, without property and an apparatus, Mr. Kostov stated.

At the IMF session in Bangkok, Bulgaria's reform was positievely assessed, but the conclusion was drawn that Bulgaria's economy seems less adaptable in its transition toward a market economy in comparison to Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia.

Zhelev Not Worried About DPS Role in Assembly

AU2910205891 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] President Zhelyu Zhelev is not worried about the place and role of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] in the Bulgarian National Assembly, the ANATOLIA Agency reported from Sofia, quoting the president's statement at his meeting with generals and officers of the Bulgarian Army.

The agency noted the viewpoint expressed by Zhelyu Zhelev that the ethnic problems in Bulgaria should be settled gradually rather than by hasty measures or crude force, which, in the president's opinion, is very dangerous. The agency reports that the Bulgarian president declared that guarantees for the country's national security would be sought in parallel from both the East and the West. It goes on to quote Zhelyu Zhelev's words that the changes in the legislature will have no effect on the Army and that the signing of a military agreement with the Soviet Union on the delivery of spare parts for the needs of the Bulgarian Army is envisaged.

Ilinden Linked to 'Serbian Expansionism'

AU2910194891 Sofia BTA in English 1929 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Report by BTA correspondent Emil Mikhaylov]

[Text] Blagoevgrad, October 29 (BTA)—The Ilinden United Macedonian Organization is the fruit of "Serbian expansionism," Mr. Krasimir Iliev, ex-secretary of the organization, said. Tomorrow Blagoevgrad Radio will broadcast an interview with him taken in Skopje by radio journalist Strashimir Mirchev.

According to the journalist, Mr. Iliev went to Skopje last year to study law at the university there. The local authorities have confiscated Mr. Iliev's passport, he was expelled from the university and a trial has been framed up against him, Mr. Mirchev explained. In the interview the ex-leader of Ilinden makes disclosures about contacts between the organization's activists and representatives of the Yugoslav Embassy in Bulgaria and about the indirect financing of the organization by the Republic of Macedonia.

At the end of last year the Bulgarian court denied registration to the Ilinden United Macedonian Organization.

Data on Parties' Election Campaign Financing

AU2910142991 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] We have received an announcement from the Press Center of the Council of Ministers about the amounts allocated from the state budget for the parties' election campaigns.

According to Decision No. 317 of the Council of Ministers, specific amounts were distributed to the legislative factions, while all political forces, without exception, could obtain limited interest-free loans.

As a result, the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS], the SDS-Center, and the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS-NP] received 3.6 million leva each. The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], the SDS-Liberals, and the BZNS-United each received a somewhat smaller amount.

Some 13 parties and coalitions that were and remained outside the legislature each obtained an interest-free loan of 300,000 leva in exchange for protection. In the case of a certain party, the price was several thousand bottles of ouzo.

According to the law, within one month of announcing the election results—that is, by 21 November—the credits must be returned to the state budget.

The greatest debtors are the SDS-Center and the Nikola Petkov BZNS—3,600,000 leva each. The SDS-Liberals owe 3 million leva, the DPS 2,880,000 leva, the BZNS-United 2, 596,000 leva, and the SDS 300,000 leva.

Only the BSP has a positive balance. It can still take 737,492 leva from the budget.

Sufficient Oil Supply Ensured Until End of Year

AU2910192991 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 25 Oct 91 p 2

[Report by Katya Trendafilova: "No Fuel Crisis Is Anticipated Until End of Year"]

[Text] The country is provided with petroleum products until the end of the year, Kupen Dimov, "Petroleum" general director told DUMA on 24 October.

Some 1,100,000 tonnes of crude oil will be imported through a special credit from the IMF. The oil will be refined in Bulgaria, and the products will be sold in our country.

One million tonnes of oil will be imported until the end of the year from Russia. The combined quantity of 2,100,000 tonnes will satisfy the need for gasoline and diesel for three months, Mr. Dimov said.

Some 400,000 tonnes of mazut will be purchased through credits from the IMF and the World Bank. About 300,000 tonnes will be imported until the end of the year, and the remaining 100,000 tonnes in January 1992. The reason: "Neftokhim" port can process only 100,000 tonnes per month.

Some 500,000 tonnes of mazut will be provided through local production. Mr. Dimov said that the combined quantity of the imported and domestic mazut will not completely satisfy the needs and that some difficulties will probably emerge, but there will be no crisis.

Tomov Views Reasons for Power-Supply Shortage

AU3010114891 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Telephone interview with Aleksandur Tomov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee on Ensuring Power-Supply Sources, by Bilyana Mikhaylova, a Khorizont Radio reporter—recorded]

[Text] [Mikhaylova] Two catastrophes shook the foundations of our power-supply system. Two days ago, it was revealed that the USSR does not intend to implement the agreement with our country for the delivery of coal, and yesterday the Druzhba Power Supply line was disconnected. Were those deliberate steps? I do not want to use a stronger word, but our press has already published certain speculations on this issue.

[Tomov] Naturally, it is difficult to assess the events now. Clearly, we must study the facts. We are doing this very seriously. We shall inform the public of the conclusions.

It is my opinion that the reasons are related to the sharp drop in electric-power production in the USSR, mainly in the Ukraine.

[Mikhaylova] What do you mean by this?

[Tomov] First of all, Chernobyl was completely shut down. Then one must take into account the serious drop in coal production in Donbas, the strikes, the lack of stability, and something else that we have noted—the systematic failure to implement centrally adopted decisions, regardless of whether they were adopted at the USSR level or at the level of the Ukraine or Russia. The collectives themselves claim the electric power that is produced and demand to have a say in determining partners, the mode of trading, and so forth. All of this is characteristic of the market economy, but, in the situation that emerged, it affected our direct interests.

You are perfectly right to describe all of this as two catastrophes. Indeed, they were so unexpected and grave that I simply have no words for them. I can also reveal something that our public does not know. For four weeks, the USSR as a country has not coordinated with its partners the export of electric power, which exceeds 480 megawatts. You must remember that the agreement with our country for the current year was for 800 megawatts. With enormous effort, we succeeded in compensating for this shortage. The people did not notice that, in the last month, the electric power supplied by the USSR was actually reduced by one-half. I should say that, just a few minutes ago, I gave instructions to take the new situation into account and search for reserves. At present, as the press reported, minimum quantities of electric power are imported from Serbia and Greece. Those are minimal quantities because they do not have greater resources. We are looking for new reserves. We shall act in accordance with the conditions that emerge.

[Mikhaylova] It appears that, to a large degree, we are helpless in this situation. Perhaps our power-supply policy and dependence are to blame....

[Tomov] Look, this dependence developed over decades. It cannot be eliminated in six months or two years. We must say this openly. It is not by chance that we told the people that we cannot quickly overcome this dependence. However, from a strategic point of view, we have a concept that will lead to a more stable power-supply system. The concept is prepared, and we will leave it as an inheritance to the next government. It is based on integrating our power-supply system into the European system.

[Mikhaylova] Why is there no guarantee for implementing the contracts?

[Tomov] On the contrary, there are guarantees, and we will base our claims on them, but this does not change the effect of the present situation. We have perfectly completed contracts, with all possible securities and guarantees—bank, governmental, and so forth. The problem is that autonomous views on all issues developed in the USSR and the Ukraine after this republic refused to sign the union treaty. Obviously, they are searching for their own solution to the problem, without taking into consideration the needs of other countries. I would like to repeat that we can cope with this situation. Unfortunately, everything happened without warning. This does not correspond to the style of civilized relations. Instead of being given warning, we were told 10 minutes in advance that the electric-power supply would be stopped. There was no chance to react quickly. Had we been warned at least one week or even five days in advance, we could have sought alternative solutions. But, under those circumstances... You must remember that the import of coal actually stopped. We also have problems with strikes. You are aware of the situation with our miners. Nevertheless, I think something can be done, and, in the final account, we will overcome this situation. However, I must say that, at present, the entire power-supply system is functioning to the limit of its capability.

Havel Wants 'Concrete Results' in Talks on Setup

LD2910214691 Prague CSTK in English 2021 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Prague Oct 29 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel is ready for new talks on the country's future setup providing they yield concrete results which will be made public and which will be binding on all participants.

This was said by presidential spokesman Michael Zantovsky at a regular briefing today.

The outcome of the future talks should not be questioned immediately after their completion and new rounds discussing new demands should not take place, Zantovsky said.

The latest round of the talks took place at Stirin near here on October 22-23. The next round will be held in Bratislava November 11-12.

Referring to what happened in Bratislava yesterday, Havel will not draw from it any conclusions for the future of Czechoslovakia. He deems it most important to find such a state setup which would end the atmosphere of instability, Zantovsky said.

In Bratislava yesterday, Slovak hecklers broke up the rally celebrating the 73rd anniversary of the foundation of Czechoslovakia (October 28, 1918) whistling and chanting "Enough of Havel", and throwing eggs at speakers, including Havel.

Czech Prime Minister Views Ties With Slovakia

LD2910223591 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1800 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Dr. Petr Pithart by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister, we have talked a lot about Czech-Slovak relations, but despite this, after your visit to Bratislava yesterday, it looks as if we have to return to it.

[Pithart] We should return to it. [passage omitted] We are not being oppresssd by any historical handicap. Both the Czechs and the Slovaks are advanced cultured peoples, each capable of creating their own independent state. There can be no doubt about that. And although we both have our own past, we can afford to come to terms with it critically. We are simply free. It is almost a star hour for all Czechoslovaks, although we feel it as a burden of responsibility. But this is how freedom is. This kind of situation occurs only rarely, maybe uniquely. I would like to stress two things: First, it is up to us how we use it. It is up to us and not up to anyone else. We will not be able to make any excuses or blame things on anyone. Second, such a situation need not occur again, so that the decisions that we make cannot be withdrawn.

[Correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister, after all, the events that took place in Bratislava on the anniversary of the foundation of the joint state of Czechs and Slovaks will leave certain traces both in the conscience of the Czech public, as well as in the conscience of the Slovak public. I would like to ask you, first of all, about the Slovak public. In your opinion, how is it possible that the majority cannot install order in their own house?

[Pithart] How is it possible? There are only two possible explanations. Either the majority does not exist, which I would not dare claim, or so far (? they have no awareness of being a state). If what happened yesterday can have some positive significance—and I think it can—it is that these people should really tell each other [passage indistinct]

At the end of November, I assume, the National Councils and, soon after that, the Federal Assembly will start discussing budgets. It is a very sensitive affair and one cannot even lead a debate, let alone approve budgets, if the outstanding issues in the complex talks between both presidia of the National Councils are not clear. [passage indistinct] If this is not clear by the end of November, then one simply cannot approve the budget; then we will have to stay with the make-shift budgetary arrangement. [passage indistinct]

[Correspondent] I would now like to return to the Czech public or to the public of the Czech Republic, because it is the civic principle that is important. To what extent are you still willing to calm down the public and continue stressing the principle of mutuality, and to what extent is it necessary to say: Come off it?

[Pithart] It is easy for you to say this. It is much more difficult for me and for any responsible politician. [passage indistinct] I said a while ago that we do not have unlimited time ahead of us. Every day we are weighing our viewpoints, and we are carefully considering our words. Last week, we were solving a situation when we were considerably disconcerted by the attitude of the Slovak Government as regards the talks in Brussels. We are discussing how, by signing a certain agreement, the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic should become an associate member of the European Community. We would have considerable advantages from it, especially regarding possibilities to export the goods that are accummulating in our stores. Despite the fact that, in my view, the Slovak Government got clear signals from the other side, from the negotiators on behalf of the European Community, that they do not wish for and that it is not possible for the text of the agreement or the text of the preamble to the treaty to determine what the Slovak Federative Republic consists of and the specific powers of both parts, and so on—the Slovak Republic got plenty of signals like that—it continues to insist that it be included in the text. This jeopardizes the deadline within which we would like to sign the agreement. We would like to sign it concurrently with the Poles and the Hungarians. If we do not manage to do that then, before the eyes of the whole of Europe and the world, we will

shift central Europe somewhere to Eastern Europe or to the Balkans. In any case, we will have to wait for another turn. It is in these connections that we were considering and will be considering what steps to take. We will consider them carefully, but we will resolutely defend the interests of the Czech Republic.

Dienstbier Clarifies NATO Association Position

AU2910191291 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 25 Oct 91 p 8

[Unattributed report: "Czechoslovakia Did Not Ask for NATO Associate Membership in the United States"]

[Text] On 23 October, THE WASHINGTON TIMES wrote that President George Bush told President Vaclav Havel that NATO will offer the East European democracies closer contacts but will not offer them associate membership.

Some foreign news agencies described the talks between the presidents—which took place in the Oval Office in the White House—as an outright rebuff. U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Eagleburger was allegedly the one who absolutely rejected any kind of association between the three Central European countries and NATO.

A CSTK correspondent asked Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier for his views on this issue at the end of his visit to the U.S. capital.

"I do not know where such reports come from," said the minister.

In reply to a question on whether the Czechoslovak delegation asked for membership or associate membership in NATO, Minister Dienstbier said: "We asked for neither. This entire issue should be dealt with within the framework of the Helsinki process. There were no problems or conflicts throughout our negotiations. I have experienced this several times. Some demand is invented, and then it is said that it was rejected. However, no demand was made. The considerations about association are general considerations. Of course, to what extent this is beneficial and useful can be discussed and ascertained. Such possibilities were discussed; however, no one submitted any requests."

Jiri Dienstbier also declared that it is impossible to join NATO as easily as it is to join the EC. "It is necessary to create conditions for this. NATO has its own articles, its own command, and can only defend its 16 members. The North Atlantic pact also has a unified weaponry system. It is impossible to join it with what we have. It is necessary to construct our Army gradually. It will be necessary to seek some form of association in the future. Or, if necessary, we will ask NATO for protection, should a clear danger arise," he said.

Dlouhy Reviews Trade Talks With U.S.

AU2910173591 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 25 Oct 91 pp 1, 15

[Marcela Doleckova report on interview with Federal Economy Minister Vladimir Dlouhy in Washington on 24 October: A Support for the CSFR in GATT"]

[Text] When the GATT Council meets in Geneva on 12 November, the American representative will support Czechoslovakia's request for permission to restructure customs tariffs. This is the most significant result of the 23 October talks in Washington involving the economic specialists in the president's entourage, Federal Economy Minister Dlouhy declared in an interview with HOSPODARSKE NOVINY. He pointed out that the United States blocked this request in October, reasoning that Czechoslovakia would thereby close itself to American merchandise.

According to Dlouhy, however, the United States is more concerned about Czechoslovakia building excessively close ties with the EC and views this "closed" space as dangerous. Dlouhy observed that the current Washington talks were extremely difficult, and Czechoslovakia apparently attained its success thanks to personal intervention by President Bush, to whom Vaclav Havel appealed in a private conversation. At the same time, Czechoslovakia promised that duties charged on imports from the United States on items that will have import duties canceled for EC countries, in the framework of the association agreement, will be returned to the present level within 10 years.

In regard to agricultural products and their export to the United States, Dlouhy is rather skeptical but believes that the talks created future opportunities for talks on the general liberalization of trade. On Wednesday, the American-Czechoslovak Economic Council organized a working lunch with Dlouhy that included representatives of business circles.

Czech Minister for Economic Policy Karel Dyba stated in an interview for HOSPODARSKE NOVINY that both sides basically agreed that a new body would be created to help American investors orient themselves on the Czechoslovak economic scene.

Commentary Says American Expectations Excessive

AU2910181191 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 26 Oct 91 p 1

[Alexander Kramer commentary: "As Soon As"]

[Text] Many important visitors have come to Czechoslovakia since November 1989. Most often, they came to "check the terrain, make contacts, create conditions." Many of the visitors were promising help. The aid has come—and continues to come—in various forms. It is not negligible, but it is the assistance that we hoped for. It is less than what was promised. It is less than we need.

We are not beggars with outstretched hands. We would like to do more business with America, but we are hindered by their protectionist import quotas. We would welcome Americans doing business in Czechoslovakia—at a profit, of course.

The majority of our visitors have a remarkable fondness for the phrase "as soon as." We will invest in your country, they were saying two years ago, as soon as we are convinced that your democratization process is irreversible. Somewhat later: As soon as privatization begins. And then: As soon as the necessary legislation on foreign investments is passed. As soon as....

The disintegration of the Warsaw Pact, to which we substantially contributed, put Czechoslovakia in a security vacuum. We indicated to NATO that we would appreciate guarantees of our security. Maybe, NATO answered, as soon as....

There were all kinds of expectations linked to the current overseas trip by the president. Not many were fulfilled. The adopted joint declaration and the signed agreement on mutual protection of investments certainly are interesting and consequential documents—in the category of those that "create conditions...." No specific economic agreement was concluded. The limiting quotas stay. NATO responded through Mr. Niles, U.S. assistant secretary of state, coldly to our wooing. Nevertheless, we have received a precious present: the original of Masaryk's Charter of independence....

Conclusions? Only when we realize that, in the hierarchy of values and interests of American foreign policy that our country has only the place it has, will our relations with America be really normal.

Farmers Demonstrate in Prague, Bratislava

AU2810143891 Prague CSTK in English 1416 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Prague Oct 24 (CSTK)— Over 20,000 farmers from Bohemia and Moravia gathered in the center of Prague today to demand reduced taxes on earnings, partial debt write-off for agricultural farms and cooperatives, and the setting of 1992 quotas and minimum prices for major farm products.

A statement listing the farmers' demands will be handed over to Federal Premier Marian Calfa. The statement warns that the majority of farms and cooperatives are on the verge of collapse, and calls for an end to delays in the current debate over a new agrarian program.

Addressing the farmers, the president of the Czech-Moravian Agrarian Union, Vladimir Karger, said the current losses of farming enterprises amount to 10,000 million crowns (about 333 million USD), and the number of people working in the agricultural sector dropped by 20 percent since last year. Non-agricultural branches account for 70 to 80 percent of the costs of primary agricultural production, Karger said.

Meanwhile, chairmen of Slovak agricultural cooperatives meet in Bratislava today to discuss the problems in that republic. A farmers' demonstration is expected at Bratislava's central square later today.

Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa told representatives of the protesting farmers that the federal government intends to deal with their demands at its session October 31.

Calfa told CSTK the situation in agriculture has become politicized. "I assured the farmers' representatives the government will discuss their problems as economic ones..., using economic instruments," he said.

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 25 October on pages 1 and 2 carries a 700-word Jana Janku and Alena Walekova report on a demonstration by "approximately 25,000 farmers" at the Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava on 24 October. Jozef Krsek, Slovak minister of agriculture and food, whose speech "was accompanied by booing and exclamations of disagreement," reportedly told the demonstrators that "Slovak agriculture would need (from the federal budget) 6.1 billion korunas just to close the gap between production conditions in the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic, that is, to ensure equal starting conditions for Slovak agriculture. If it does not get this money, the Slovak market will be flooded with cheaper Czech food, according to J. Krsek, and agricultural enterprises in about 20 districts of Slovakia will go bankrupt, because of their inability to compete. Between 80,000 and 100,000 farmers would become unemployed in that case."]

Real, Private Sector Earnings Development Reported

AU2910150691 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Oct 91 pp 1-2

[Vladimir Cechlovsky article: "Real Earnings Have Dropped by One-Fifth"]

[Excerpts] Prague—In the first half of the year, real earnings dropped by 26.4 percent compared with the same period last year and 21 percent compared with December 1990, even after projecting into them the influence of the monthly compensatory allowance of 140 korunas [introduced in 1990 to compensate for the abolition of food subsidies]. Let us recall that, in the general agreement [with the trade unions], the government committed itself to ensuring that real earnings would not drop more than 10 percent for the whole year, compared with December 1990.

The development of nominal wages was marked by great differences. Average monthly earnings in small enterprises (with fewer than 100 employees) were about 10 percent higher in the first half of the year than earnings in medium-sized and big state and cooperative enterprises. The highest earnings were registered in private enterprises, which represented 56 percent of the total

number of 6,203 small enterprises. Here, average monthly earnings amounted to 5,291 korunas. [passage omitted] Average gross monthly nominal earnings in the national economy as a whole, on the other hand, amounted to 3,453 korunas in the first half of the year (10.7 percent increase compared with the first half of 1990). [passage omitted]

The highest increase in average earnings in the first half of the year was in banking (51 percent), in the insurance business (33 percent), in foreign trade (27 percent), and in communications (26 percent), that is, mostly in branches with a formerly relatively low level of earnings. In a number of branches that used to be known for a relatively high level of earnings, on the other hand, growth slowed down significantly. Earnings in agriculture, in the construction sector, in transportation, in communal services, in administration, judiciary, prosecutor's offices, and arbitration offices, for example, increased by only 2 to 5 percent. [passage omitted]

The nominal earnings of 13 percent of all employees in the national economy even declined in the first half of the year. Employees in the leather working industry (36.2 percent of them suffered a drop in nominal earnings in the first half of the year), in communal services (36.1 percent), in the garment industry (34 percent), in agriculture (33.1 percent), in administration, judiciary, prosecutor's offices, and arbitration offices (30 percent), the construction sector (25.5 percent), and in the electrical engineering industry (20 percent) were particularly affected by this. [passage omitted]

Government Document Sees Unemployment, Price Increases

AU2910191691 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Oct 91 pp 1-2

["(mir)"-signed report: "One Million Unemployed, Slight Price Increases"]

[Text] Prague—Last week the federal government discussed an analysis of the course of economic reform to date and a forecast of economic development until the end of next year. According to our information, Federal Assembly deputies will be briefed on the material in the next few days. We are publishing some of the basic information contained in this government document.

Having assessed development to date, the authors of the analysis came to the conclusion that reform strategy is correct in its fundamental principles and, therefore, it is unnecessary to alter its basic building blocks. Of the proposed principles contained in the government's future economic policy, the following items are given particular emphasis:

—a balanced budget;

—maintaining a realistic level of expenditure on education and health care;

—guaranteeing resources to finance the social security network, a pro-export program, and public investments in infrastructure.

If these and other principles are adhered to, it is possible to expect another slight decline in output both this year and next year. Average monthly volumes in 1992—in comparison to monthly averages in 1989—should hover at a level of 70-75 percent in industry, 70 percent in construction, and 85 percent in agriculture.

Unemployment

Unemployment in the CSFR should not exceed 700,000 at the end of this year. The level of unemployment in the Czech Republic should hover around 7 percent, but it will reach at least 12 percent in Slovakia and will affect one in eight people. A further 100,000-150,000 people will be employed only part-time. By the end of 1992, the overall number of unemployed may be around one million, and severe problems associated with unemployment can be expected in some regions.

Prices

There is still a risk of price increases, first and foremost, as a consequence of the monopoly position of some producers on the market. Therefore, by the end of this year we may expect that the overall level of prices will be 55 percent higher in comparison to last December. The government is expecting just a slight increase in prices next year—by approximately 15 percent for the whole year. However, development in the agriculture and food industry complex remains very risky. The authors of the analysis warn against the ill-considered elimination of agricultural surpluses. They point out that primary food producers would then be able to temporarily slow down sales with the aim of increasing prices; this would lead to shortages on the market. An attempt to resolve such a situation by means of imports would—in the case of meat and milk products, for example—lead to prices for these foodstuffs being doubled in comparison to current prices.

Slovak Energy Status, Dependence on Czechs Viewed

AU2910144991

[Editorial Report] Prague RESPEKT No. 42 in Czech, 21 to 27 October, on page 5 carries a 1,000-word Beata Bernikova article entitled "The Billion-Koruna Trifle; On Slovakia's Energy Losses." Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 23 October on page 2 carries a 200-word CSTK report, entitled "Little Money for Mochovce," on a news conference given by Jan Holcik, Slovak minister of industry, in Bratislava on 22 October. Both items examine Slovakia's energy situation.

Bernikova says in RESPEKT that Slovakia consumes 5,800 megawatt hours of electricity a year more than it generates. Of this amount, 3,800 megawatt hours are imported from the Czech Republic, so that "net

imports" represent only 2,000 megawatt hours. The author stresses that this arrangement is very advantageous for Slovakia, because a megawatt hour of Czech electricity costs only 1,100 korunas, whereas electricity imported from the Ukraine costs $48 per megawatt hour, and electricity imported from Western Europe costs $40 per megawatt hour. Apart from electricity, Slovakia is said to import 8 million tonnes of solid fuels annually from the Czech Republic.

To become self-sufficient in electricity, Bernikova continues, Slovakia must complete the Mochovce nuclear power station: "Only the launching of Mochovce will allow the Slovak power grid to breathe a sigh of relief. The 12,000 megawatt hours of its annual output will represent almost one-half of Slovakia's energy consumption," she says. The completion of Mochovce depends on availability of funds, however. Bernikova says: "This year alone, Slovakia is 8.9 billion korunas short of what it would need to complete Mochovce. Following the passing of the power-sharing law, the Federal Government no longer directly finances the project. In defiance of this fact, Prime Minister Carnogursky has written a letter to Minister Klaus in which he asks for that sum. After the distribution of powers, the federal minister of finance is reluctant to comply. This could change if a sufficiently reliable coalition partner were to be found in Slovakia. Mochovce, a project that has already devoured 20 billion korunas, is at a standstill. One is waiting for money for regulatory and control equipment. Following the liberalization of prices, the project's original budget increased from 37 to 48 billion korunas."

The completion of the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power station, on the other hand, "will not resolve Slovakia's energy problems," the author continues. Even the project's controversial "C" variant, which is opposed by Hungary, would yield only 1,800 megawatt hours of electricity annually, which is 10 percent of the capacity of Mochovce.

In concluding, Bernikova questions the wisdom of the Slovak Government's decision to expand the production of aluminum at Ziar nad Hronom at a time of energy shortage. She says: "The Ziar nad Hronom aluminum plant consumes 1,300 megawatt hours of electricity annually, which is almost one-quarter of Slovak electricity imports and almost two-thirds of its electricity imports for hard currency. While Slovakia demands nine billion korunas from the hated federation to be able to complete the first two units of Mochovce, it has struck a deal with a Norwegian company on the modernization and expansion of production in the Ziar nad Hronom aluminum plant. Under the terms of this agreement, the Slovak Government guarantees (the Norwegian company) an electricity price of $30 per megawatt hour, which is 25 percent below the current price in Europe."

The CSTK report on the Bratislava news conference quotes Slovak Minister of Industry Jan Holcik as saying that "the Slovak Republic only covers less than 14 percent of its energy needs from its own resources; more than 18 percent comes from the Czech Republic, and almost 70 percent is imported." Slovakia's dependence on imported energy, as well as the necessity of "gradually putting out of operation the V1 and V2 nuclear power-generating units at Jaslovske Bohunice," makes it "all the more acute" to complete the Gabcikovo and Mochovce power stations, Holcik continued, and bemoaned the "lack of funds" for the completion of Mochovce.

Yugoslav Refugees Crossing Border in Pecs District

LD3010095391 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0500 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Report by correspondent Csaba Belenesi]

[Text] At the Hungarian-Yugoslavian border stretch belonging to the Pecs District, 60 people asked the Border Guard for temporary refuge yesterday. Of the 60, 55 came from Vinkovci, which is a clear sign of the fact that fighting has increased around there. The bulk of those arriving from Croatia are women and children; there are only seven men among them. On the other hand, seven refugees who came earlier decided to return to their homeland. The largest traffic among the border crossing points in Baranya was at Dravaszabolcs, where 1,200 people crossed the border. The Udvar station has been closed by Yugoslav federal forces since 6 October, and rail traffic at Magyarboly has stopped since mid-August because the rails had been blown up right next to the border.

Lieutenant Colonel Janos Zsobrak, spokesman for the Pecs Border Guard District, said that explosive experts found signs of grenade hits at nearly 300 places, all from the air attack on Sunday evening. One hundred and twenty-nine grenades fell among the houses. All explosive devices have already been defused in populated areas. People can move back into their houses and can begin repairing damages. Today, experts will start to examine the cornfield next to the Danko Street housing estate, to defuse possible grenades hidden in the ground.

Antall Discusses NATO Role, EC Association

LD2910184591 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by Gyorgyi B. Kiraly at the airport in Budapest upon his return from talks with NATO and EC leaders in Brussels on 29 October—recorded]

[Excerpts] Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, who held talks with NATO and EC leaders, has returned from Brussels. At the airport, he gave an interview to our colleague, Gyorgyi B. Kiraly, in which he spoke not only about the results of his talks but also about the attack on Barcs:

[Kiraly] Jozsef Antall said in Brussels that NATO should act against border violations and aggression. His remark has become even more topical since the Barcs incident. At his press briefing at the airport he outlined his counterparts' reaction:

[Antall] They were not averse to this stance. Of course, the interpretation of this and the drawing of conclusions can only be evaluated after the meeting in Rome. [passage omitted]

It is very important for us to emphasize, and we did so, that the new situation that evolved, the current changes in the Soviet Union or the collapse of the communist political system in this region, have not made NATO unnecessary by any means, but we can speak about a very important new role of a changed NATO, and NATO today is equally as important as it was in past decades—but with other objectives, other tasks.

[Kiraly] Finally, we cannot ignore the economic issues either. Have you received any encouragement about when the EC association agreement can be concluded, and to what extent do we depend on Czechoslovakia and Poland on this issue?

[Antall] The signing of the association agreement will presumably take place in November, and the agreement can come into effect in 1992. However, the consent of each member state's legislature is necessary for it to come into effect.

Antall Views Economic, Political, Foreign Affairs

LD2910001891 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 2030 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by correspondent Peter Feledi on 26 October; place not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Feledi] At the beginning of our conversation, allow me to return, so to speak, to the hospital, and ask you how you are now? Your health?

[Antall] Thank you. Since every examination result is at present negative, I can say that I am well. [passage omitted]

[Feledi] Mr. Prime Minister, let us discuss the two most important aspects of the changes to our system: One is the political change of the system, and the other is the economic change. The change in the system of political institutions seems more or less complete. I do not know if you agree with this. What elements still need to be renewed?

[Antall] We have completed laying the institutional foundations of the changes to the political system. Indeed, Hungary has a constitution. Although, formally, it is an amended version of the 1949 Constitution, anybody who compares the texts—in spite of every legal gap that could be bridged by an interpretation from the Constitutional Court—will see that the present Hungarian Constitution has created a workable legislative democracy. This is not a bad constitution. Of course, preparations for the new constitution must begin, but this is not the major question. Today, Hungary has a constitutional system of political institutions that is in accordance with European norms, from the head of state to the self-government of the smallest village. It has the public administration of a modern, civilized state. In this sense, we have carried out change to the political system. [passage omitted]

[Feledi] There is another question of legal theory, the question of the statute of limitations, which is and always has been regulated by laws, and many actions can now be regarded as out of date.

[Antall] The question of the statute of limitations can only work according to international standards. There are crimes for which this cannot be applied. It is common knowledge, in the case of the Nazi crimes, of murder, and other inhuman actions. I think this has to be entrusted to the legislature. These questions are declared unconstitutional, according to expert views. There are various possibilities in the case of limitations. What do we relate them to, for what period, and from what date can they be applied? If possible, the cases must be closed in such a way that, as far as possible, they satisfy the people's sense of justice. It is important that people feel that justice is being done and that we deliver justice as far as possible, after so many decades and such circumstances. This means rehabilitation and justice for some people, and it ends uncertanties. This question is similar to the property ownership question. [passage omitted]

[Feledi] Let us now turn to the changes in the economic system. Allow me to quote from Saturday's NEPSZABADSAG. A political scientist claims that if the role of the state in the economy is not reduced drastically, if privatization continues to be delayed, then there is no real change in the economic system. I also read there, if I remember well, that the government has virtually frozen economic change.

[Antall] I think the political scientist who wrote this is too deeply rooted in Marxism-Leninism. He is creating his own nightmares and is interpreting the role of state intervention in a completely distorted way. I do not know who it is, but anyone who looks at the economic transformation in Hungary in a level-headed manner can safely conclude, first of all, that privatization in Hungary is developing well, it really has started. Only later did the State Assets Agency come under the Government's authority; when it was established, it was under the National Assembly. Contrary to this opinion from the political scientist, I quote a lady with less Marxist education, Mrs. Thatcher, who said that Hungarian privatization is amazingly rapid, and she can only express her admiration. [passage omitted]

In this country, where for four decades a planned economy, a communist economic system, was in operation, how could so much capital, private capital be found, to be available for enterprise in such a way as to buy all these assets at a realistic price, all that is now under state ownership. The other point is the proportion of foreign investors. What I mean is that we are not against foreign investments in the least. On the contrary, we are promoting it because it is clear to us, whether from an economic, political, or even from a security policy point of view, it is very important to increase the number of foreign investors. Here we can safely say that 60 percent of the foreign capital that arrived in the whole of the former communist camp—except for Germany, which is a separate matter, but including the Soviet Union—came into Hungary. [passage omitted]

This is one thing that is important to emphasize. The other is internal accumulation. Privatization can only be carried out more quickly if the assets currently under state ownership—regardless of what anyone thinks about the nationalization—are quickly thrown on the market below price. Then, perhaps, privatization can be implemented very quickly. In this case, very good figures could be shown, but then what would people say? What criticism would the government receive for wasting state assets, or from workers saying they are being put on the street because privatization is being implemented too quickly. [passage omitted]

[Feledi] Forgive me, but the strategic aim is still that the broken-down Hungarian industry should become operational as soon as possible and that exportable, marketable products should be produced. If we look at it from this angle, it is almost irrelevant at what price we sell because, in the long-run, what is essential is that they should be operating—they should employ people, produce real goods, and pay taxes to the state?

[Antall] This is exactly the issue. A way must be found so that the sale takes place at a realistic price; the realistic price is the one at which the goods can be sold. [passage omitted] Hungary exports only 20 percent to the former socialist camp, which for years was the decisive one, and 70 percent of Hungarian exports go to the 24 developed countries, to the toughest markets, and 50 percent these go to the markets of the EC. [passage omitted]

[Feledi] Returning to privatization, why is it, do you think, that the press, for example, is also full of privatization stories that are scandalous, or presented as scandalous? [passage omitted] The other thing about which many people are quite convinced is that privatization, in a certain sense, is a tool for salvaging assets.

[Antall] I think that this is basically true. There is some truth in all of this. With such a restructuring, unfortunately, the restructuring law also provided the opportunity for corruption. This must be fought. Where people find out about this, it must be impeded. However specific facts about corruption must really be made known and investigated. [passage omitted]

[Feledi] Now, if everything is as you say regarding privatization—and we are in the vanguard regarding the former socialist countries—then why do you think there is such strong criticism of the government's privatization policy, even from those loyal to the government? For example, they say there is no privatization law, the government has no privatization strategy.

[Antall] [passage omitted] I acknowledge that it is not perfect. On the one hand, the internal structure of the State Assets Agency must be reorganized into a unit handling state assets in the longer term, and into a unit

selling state assets. With the assets policy directives, the whole privatization strategy is continually being modified. [passage omitted]

[Feledi] One of the basic pillars of the change in the economic system is the creation of completely clear and unequivocal property relations. [passage omitted] When do you predict there will, or can, be property relations in Hungary that do not scare off potential foreign investors, but encourage them, and when will the potential internal investors see property relations clearly?

[Antall] I think that the meaning of the compensation law is precisely this: to settle property relations. [passage omitted] We know that it is not fair, and it cannot be fair. This is why we speak about partial property compensation. It can be said again that only a small proportion of society possesses property, and at the same time, the others also contributed to the assets produced in past decades. It can also be said that it was not only the home owners who suffered damage, but also those who could not pursue further studies, and these questions can be listed ad infinitum. It is fundamental that there is property compensation and personal compensation. Regarding personal compensation, this is now to be put before the National Assembly This applies to those whose personal freedom was restricted. In the case of property compensation, the aim of the compensation law is to stabilize property relations. And starting from when the compensation law comes into effect, everyone can purchase or invest without any worries, because property cannot be taken away from them. But those who owned the property originally will get partial compensation. We do not, by any means, think this is perfect; on the contrary, it entails a great many difficulties, and so on. All the same, I think that with the compensation law, with partial compensation for the former owners, we are contributing not only to justice being served, not just to rehabilitaton, but we are also contributing to the development of an enterpreneurs' strata, or at least we are helping them to undertake ventures. [passage omitted]

[Feledi] Mr. Prime Minister, how far has the fact penetrated that this political-economic change entails extraordinary social tensions? Let me just refer to the 300,000 unemployed.

[Antall] Naturally a great deal. It is one of the greatest problems of restructuring the Hungarian economy. Unfortunately, it is a necessary concomittant. Without unemployment, the economy cannot be transformed, however good it would sound to say it could be transformed with full employment. [passage omitted]

[Feledi] You are quite right, but another thing you have to consider is how you can win over, for example, a sacked miner or metallurgical worker, to the cause of the change.

[Antall] The question of who we can win over and how are two separate questions. All we can think about or hope for here is that people can see the issues on the basis of rational arguments, and they will realize that this is not the result of our bad functioning. And, I would like to summarize these political and economic policy questions in a certain sense. We never object to criticism; we never resent the fact that it does not inspire enthusiasm, for you cannot expect that from people. But those who criticize our economic policy, those who criticize this economic policy program, this strategy, should say in specific terms what they consider bad in them and what should be done instead. Thus far, during our one-and-a-half-year period of government, I have never come across a comprehensive or substitute program. As a matter of fact, there is a kind of political strategy, from the political forces in opposition to the government—and I emphasize that one must not take offense at this—that they would continually like to push us into implementing as quickly as possible, more and more decisively, tougher measures, antagonizing the general social atmosphere and increasing tension regarding society's tolerance level. Of course, this is based on political hope, namely that they will follow us in government and that, in the meantime, we should do the dirty work. It is as simple as that. [passage omitted] The big difference is that when a government does something, that has consequences. That is one thing.

[Feledi] Let me say something about this, too.

[Antall] Go ahead.

[Feledi] What is your opinion? By what you have said, have you reassured the present 300,000 unemployed and the potential 200,000-300,000 predicted to join them next year?

[Antall] I trust that it will not be the same ones who remain unemployed, and it will not be their number that increases yet again. But modern industrial societies live with unemployment. [passage omitted] As for being unable to reassure them, I cannot reassure the person who sees that children's shoes are more expensive and who has serious problems because he cannot afford children's shoes.

It is entirely pointless if I say that inflation now is 35-36 percent, although there were those who predicted 60 percent, and instead of this it has, in fact, stopped, and there is a chance that next year inflation will be around 30 percent. It could be pushed down even further, but then the economy's performance capacity and growth would diminish. All these are questions of proportion, a question of what can be done and what society can put up with.

All that I can say to everyone, and all that I can say in public as well, is that the country and this entire region are on a forced path of economic and social transformation. So this has to be carried out because there is no other way. [passage omitted] When the economy of the Soviet Union collapsed, and when the Soviet Union itself is being transformed, when we see what is happening in Poland and in Czechoslovakia, to mention just a few—well, amidst such circumstances—that which we have, and that which we have achieved, is also a result.

And obviously the opposite, a ready counterprogram, will be proposed by the parties at the next elections. We will have the advantage and the disadvantage of having demonstrated something, and also that what we have said can be measured *in actions as well.*

[Feledi] Mr. Prime Minister, let us go on to foreign political issues. When you, dear viewers, see this conversation—since we are recording this conversation in the early hours of the evening of 26 October, Jozsef Antall will already be in Brussels, where NATO will be holding its General Assembly.

[Antall] I will deliver, on the one hand, a speech before the NATO Permanent Council, the ministers of the NATO countries, and on the other hand, about European security issues—the relations of Hungary, that is between NATO and Hungary. In addition, I will have a separate meeting with NATO General Secretary Manfred Woerner and with Jacques Delors, chairman of the European Community's Executive Committee, and with the Belgian prime minister. Incidentally, it will take one day for me to do all this; I will be arriving only on Sunday night, and I will come home on 29 October.

[Feledi] Now please tell the viewers what the Hungarian Government's objective with NATO is, what it would like to achieve. And then let us go on to Hungary's Common Market plans as well.

[Antall] Well, I would simplify this, in reverse order. Our aim with the EC is to create an associate relationship and that this associate relationship should happen in such a way that proper membership should also be placed into perspective. Incidentally, the draft agreement also provides for this to happen. This is all the more important because, by now, the EC and the free trade zone, EFTA, have unified into a European region, a European space. And this means that the biggest part of our total exports, as we have already said, are aimed in this direction. Now, that is why the associate agreement is important for us, and there is a chance that this might be signed this year. It is possible that by November, in this decade [as heard], we might attain proper membership, but it depends on two fundamental matters. One is what the European Community will be like. The EC's internal structure has by no means been decided, and on this there is no agreement among the member states. [passage omitted] That is one of the issues. The other issue is the development of the Hungarian economy.

[Feledi] So you are now thinking of methods of economic protection.

[Antall] No, of everything. Well, at the same time, the EC also wants to go in the direction of a political union, so this is a global security policy issue. And on the other hand, it is a question of what the Hungarian economy will achieve. The EC cannot admit a country below a given minimum. So, Hungary must prepare to make itself suitable for membership. It must at least attain the standard of the individual member states so as to be fit for admission. So, it depends on us as well. These are the two factors that determine this. So, I consider it very important to stress this. The other thing is the NATO issue. NATO is one of the most important elements guaranteeing European security. The Helsinki process, *the Conference* on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and so on are all things which touch upon European security in a global sense. But NATO has not become redundant at all with the cessation of the Warsaw Pact, the reduction of the Soviet Union's military might. The significance of NATO, transformed and with new concepts, remains of decisive importance, just as is the presence of the Americans in Europe. Our endeavor is that Hungary and NATO—and this is the aspiration of the Visegrad three as well—is that there be institutionalized relations between NATO and these countries, that is also with Hungary. We are examining ways of going about this and the extent to which we can be given guarantees that, within the framework of European security, NATO can give support to this region too; to what extent NATO can be—if this is possible at all—a certain kind of security umbrella. So, it is not a question of us asking for admission to NATO; this would be unrealistic. However, close relations with NATO are very important, and at NATO's next session in Rome this is precisely what they will be discussing—that is, what kind of policy NATO should be conducting with our region. This is why it is significant that now, after the General Assembly—and Geza Jeszenszky was also able to make a speech in Madrid—we will be able to expound Hungary's stance in Brussels and assess the possibilities before the Rome meeting.

[Feledi] Questions connected with NATO have perhaps come to the forefront of public interest, also because there is a war on Hungary's southern borders.

[Antall] This is so, and this obviously has implications in two directions. On the one hand, it increases the demand for security in our region. So we would like to be given greater guarantees that we have someone to support us, that we be given a certain security protection. So, we are searching for the international, legal, and other possibilities for this, as to how we can put ourselves in a more secure position, how we can make our borders more secure. This is indeed one of the consequences of this. Both the civil war that has developed in Yugoslavia and the internal situation and possibilities of the whole region are prompting our demand for security. On the other hand, however, the insecurity factors in the region make the NATO countries cautious regarding undertaking obligations. These countries are loath to decide to undertake obligations that may, for example, in a given case, involve them in a civil-war type situation.

[Feledi] What is the Hungarian policy today regarding Yugoslavia?

[Antall] The primary position of Hungarian policy from the start was that this problem can only be resolved with international support. This issue deserves international attention and international goodwill because within

Yugoslavia, between the individual republics, it is insoluble. We placed the greatest emphasis on making it clear to the world that this must be dealt with, that this will spread further if it is not dealt with. During the time of the Soviet putsch, we considered it particularly important that it should not be left in the background, and that it should be brought more and more into the focus of world attention. [passage omitted]

We are vitally affected, not just by the issue of the Magyar minorities, whom we always have to consider, but also regarding the refugees, and simply because the whole region is affected by the fact that there is a civil war in Yugoslavia. Not just because oil is not coming through the Adria pipeline to us, or to Czechoslovakia either, but also because investments and projects are made more uncertain if there are such events in the region. So, our aim is that this civil war be ended as soon as possible, and all our endeavors are directed toward this. We continue to hold the view that if there is no solution, with the guarantee of internal and external borders, with the guarantee of the listed rights, [words indistinct] then it is hardly conceivable that the world will find a solution, other than to recognize as sovereign states the republics that have declared their independence, declared their sovereignty through democratic legislatures. [passage omitted]

[Feledi] Thank you for the conversation.

Gyula Horn Discusses Media Role, Nationalism

AU2910092291 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 25 Oct 91 p 5

[Report on a debate organized by Laszlo Robert, editor of the Hungarian-language edition of LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, at the headquarters of the National Federation of Hungarian Journalists on 19 October: "Media and Lies—The Abandoned Region"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Gyula Horn, former Hungarian foreign minister and chairman of the Hungarian National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee:

"I have often dealt with the relationship between the press and politics. My impression is (and this is not a new impression) that the power and the authorities have not changed much in their attitude toward the press: The authorities want to position themselves above the press. The press and media staff try to fight against this, as do those who do not have a share in power. It is this kind of struggle that we are witnessing here in Hungary at the moment, as well as in the whole area of Central and Eastern Europe. I do not know of any politician or political line that has won a battle against the press. As far as I can tell, it is always the press that gains the upper hand. Any politician who does not take that into account is shortsighted.

"The euphoria experienced by the Western world in relation to our changes was largely created by the media. On the other hand, I now think that a significant proportion of the Western press does not know how to deal with this region and with the very contradictory developments that are taking place here.

"For example, I do not think it extraordinary that nationalism has grown stronger in our region. Nationalism has always existed here, and it is only its success, its strength, and its manifestations that have changed from period to period. Nationalism exists in all those places where democracy does not exist. Furthermore, it is common knowledge that, in this region, we failed to see the development not only of the institutions of democracy, but also of the characteristics (and hence the traditions) of democracy. It is extremely difficult to make a distinction between nationalist manifestation and rightful claims and efforts aimed at gaining autonomy for a specific nation, national group, minority, or organizational form. For example, can we speak of nationalism in the case of the 17 Soviet cities that have proclaimed their cities as republics? I stress that we are talking about cities, not regions or ethnic groups.

"I find nationalism really dangerous, or even fatally dangerous—I base this on the events that are taking place along our southern border and in our southeastern region—if they are elevated to the level of official politics. It is common knowledge that the war in Yugoslavia is clearly linked to Serbian nationalism.

"In our region, we can expect similar confrontations of lesser or greater force in all those areas where no satisfactory solution was found over the past decades for state structural forms, or where state alliances were formed without expressing the real will of every single participant. That is why I am particularly worried by the developments that are taking place in the Soviet Union and the prospects for these developments—apart from the fact that I do not know of a single problem that has been solved with peaceful means over the Soviet Union's more than 70-year-long history. Violence and confrontation were always given priority over other forms of solution. I would like to add that, naturally, the things that are happening in this region are the responsibility of the nations and peoples who live here, but the West also bears an enormous responsibility for the situation and future of our region.

"It seems to me that the West does not know how to handle the developments that are taking place here. One of the reasons why this is difficult to accept is because, for decades, the West encouraged (at least through the media) those who lived here to fight for democracy. However, now I do not really see the same kind of positive interference. What am I referring to in concrete terms?

"The West—save a few exceptions—is almost tacitly accepting the fact that Romania is about to pass a constitution that is markedly nationalist and hostile toward national minorities. The new constitution will make the situation for national minorities even worse

than it was under previous regimes. For years, we have been suggesting that if the countries of Central and Eastern Europe want to join Western Europe, the West should make it a prerequisite that these states completely fulfill requirements concerning human rights and democracy. We even have the legal basis to do this, because all these states (without exception) are signatories to the international agreements that stipulate these requirements. However, there has been no concrete reaction in this area.

"I think that this region has been left to itself to a large extent. It is common knowledge (perhaps it is even a cliche) that the main reasons behind the nationalism and domestic problems encountered here—the very serious anomalies linked to our change of regime and situation—are of an economic and social nature. To be quite honest, at the moment, I do not know how the West relates to our economic transition and change of regime. I wish to stress that I am not talking about providing aid (except in the case of the Soviet Union perhaps). I am talking about the West assisting us in our economic transition and our adhesion to the group of developed economies. For example, what can we do when leading Western politicians successively tell us that Hungary and the others should not expect to join the EC before the turn of the millennium, because we are not ready for that yet? On what basis can anyone establish deadlines? One can state that these countries will only be able to accede once they have changed and transformed their internal system so that it falls in line with the EC's situation. That is an acceptable viewpoint. I find this particularly important because we are not just talking about economic issues. I am convinced that our belonging to Western European integrationist organizations (particularly the EC) is also a political matter—in relation to the nationalist manifestations mentioned previously, as well.

"France has always been of crucial importance for Central and Eastern Europe, as has the success of a joint Franco-German foreign policy directed toward us. Today I find that Germany is busy with its own problems—with the recovery of eastern Germany—and there is no clearly outlined French foreign policy as regards Central and Eastern Europe either. This is also true, to a certain extent, for Great Britain's foreign policy. In other words, Western Europe is fairly divided, and it is mainly passive as regards developments over here. I think the West is faced with a dilemma. Either it stays as far away as possible from the developments in Central Europe, the wars, the nationalist tendencies, and the economic problems (and this appears in the form of a new kind of autarchy)—or it recognizes the fact that if it fails to play an active role in the formation of developments over here, the situation of our whole continent could be in great danger. One cannot allow a lasting unstable situation to develop in these parts and at the same time talk about creating a united Europe." [passage omitted]

MDF Faction Leader on Political Opposition

AU2910201791 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 28 Oct 91 pp 1, 3

[Report by Zoltan Otvos: "Konya: MDF Is Not Avoiding a Conflict But Hardening Itself"]

[Excerpts] "I hope that, on 4 November, the National Assembly will vote on the law that will make it possible to try to sentence those who have blood on their hands.

"However, this does not mean revenge or carnage," Imre Konya, legislative faction leader of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], said in a speech delivered on 26 October at a forum organized in the city gallery of Csongrad. [passage omitted]

Konya stated that, compared to its neighbors, Hungary was building a stable democratic society. Hungary has no serious social conflicts, so its transformation is the most complete. Konya stressed that the country's leaders are only guided by one aim, namely the interests of 15 million Hungarians. [passage omitted]

The MDF wants to restructure radio and television for the sake of objective information, not because they want "tulips on the screen all the time" [the MDF logo pictures tulips]. Imre Konya stressed: "The main problem is not that they are against us, but that what they say is untrue." Konya went on to make some noteworthy remarks about the opposition. According to Konya, the opposition will only be constructive once it sees hardness on the side of the governing parties. This can also be seen in connection with the fall of Janos Kis (which, incidentally, the MDF faction leader is very pleased about) because the chairman of the main opposition party "threw in the towel" when he realized that the MDF was conducting a more resolute policy. [passage omitted]

Imre Konya believed that Peter Tolgyessy would be the best candidate to replace Kis, but at the same time, it would be strange if Tolgyessy spoke about cooperation with the MDF during this election campaign.

Konya believed that Prime Minister Jozsef Antall's greatest merit was to have avoided a grand coalition. Nevertheless, Konya regretted the fact that the opposition was marked by a crisis, because there is a need for the supervising role of the opposition; in fact, "they sometimes even have good ideas." At the same time, Konya lamented the absence of a striking left-wing party, because the governing parties cannot represent workers' interests the way a social democratic party would. However, the socialists stand no chance of doing this because of their past. [passage omitted]

Division of Newly Elected Senate Seats Outlined

LD3010110591 Warsaw PAP in English 0032 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 29—Twenty-one newly-elected senators representing the Democratic Union will form the largest group in the upper house (Senate) with the second-largest group of 11 representatives of Solidarity, and third—nine senators from the Catholic Action and nine from the Citizens' Centre Alliance.

Twenty-seven senators have been re-elected for the office, among them Wladyslaw Findeisen (Democratic Union, Warsaw), Alicja Grzeskowiak (Centre Alliance, Torun), Zofia Kuratowska (Democratic Union, Warsaw), Krzysztof Pawlowski (Christian Democracy, Nowy Sacz), Zbigniew Romaszewski (Independent, Tarnobrzeg), Jozef Slisz (Peasant Alliance, Rzeszow), and Edward Wende (Democratic Union, Kalisz), while 73 senators are new faces in the chamber.

The Democratic Union, the Liberal-Democratic Congress, and the Citizens' Centre Alliance won three mandates each in the electoral district number 1 (Warsaw and foreign polling centres). Therefore, if the unofficial results from all the 37 election districts are confirmed in the Electoral Commission's official protocol, the Democratic Union will have the largest number of 51 mandates, one more than the Democratic Left Alliance.

Further ranking would then be as follows: Catholic Action - 42, Peasant Party Programmatic Alliance - 41, Confederation for Independent Poland - 38, Centre Alliance - 37, Liberal-Democratic Congress - 31, Peasant Agreement - 23, Solidarity - 23, Beer's friends - 13.

The Electoral Commission in Warsaw did not conclude work until late night Tuesday and it will publish a protocol on Wednesday morning.

Democratic Union Leads in 98 Percent of Districts

LD2910112591 Warsaw PAP in English 1008 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 29—In 98 percent of electoral districts the Democratic Union of former Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki won the biggest number of votes (12.23 percent) ahead of the Democratic Left Alliance—postcommunists (12.07 percent), the Polish Peasant Party (8.88 percent), the Catholic Electoral Action (8.76 percent), the Centre Alliance (8.68 percent), the Confederation for Independent Poland (7.56 percent), the Liberal-Democratic Congress (7.18 percent), the Peasant Alliance (5.60 percent), Solidarity (4.91 percent), the Polish Party of Friends of Beer (3.26 percent), Solidarity of Labour (2.02 percent).

The election turnout reached 42.9 percent. Still lacking are the results of voting in Warsaw and Gdansk provinces.

The State Electoral Commission will announce official preliminary results of the elections at 2030 hrs on Tuesday.

Warsaw District Reports Final Election Results

LD3010122391 Warsaw PAP in English 1110 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 30—The Warsaw District Electoral Commission completed its work Wednesday morning and announced the results of the Sunday voting in the capital, saying that the Democratic Union won with 18.87 per cent of votes, ahead of the Liberal-Democratic Congress—16.57 per cent and the Citizens's Centre Alliance—14.29 per cent.

The Polish Peasant party—Programatic Alliance won only 1.68 per cent of votes in Warsaw, and its candidate, Sejm speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz failed to win a mandate to the Sejm here. The turnout in Warsaw reached 53.9 per cent.

President Walesa Issues Post-Election Statement

LD2910163491 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1400 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Statement issued by President Lech Walesa on 29 October; place not given—read by announcer]

[Text] We already know the initial results of the elections to the Parliament of the Polish Republic. For the first time since the war, the two most important elements forming a democratic state, the president and Parliament, result from free and democratic elections. So let the noise of the pre-electoral contest now abate. Let us not highlight the things that divide us but, without abandoning our own programs, let us concentrate our efforts on those things that must unite us. Let us work for the good of Poland and its citizens. Parliament should be a factor stimulating democratic transformations in our country.

Let us work for the creation of a government with wide powers granted by Parliament. The new government, based on cooperation and agreement, needs a minimum of two years, during which internal political battles must cease. However, we must continue to build an economic order that meets the nation's aspirations and our achievements in the work of mending the Republic.

The main tasks of the new government are, first, broad privatization and coming to grips with the recession; second, the matter of managing unemployment; third, the country's security and bringing criminals to justice; fourth, health, culture and social policy. Harmonious cooperation for the good of Poland and Poles is the supreme issue today.

Proposes 3 'Variants'

LD2910192891 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Statement by Presidential Press Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] The president proposes three variants, three solutions for the current situation that would make it possible to form a government. The first assumes the creation of the government on the base of the post-Solidarity, i.e. Solidarity block, parties. This is the variant that needs to be examined by all.

The second: The creation of the government from the Solidarity block, but with the president also as prime minister, with the assumption that this kind of government will be in existence for two years.

The third variant, a similar one: The government is headed by a president who is also a prime minister, but which is composed of the seven main parties that won, i.e. that gained the most seats in the Parliament. As in the previous variant, this would be a government that would be in existence for two years. Which ministries would go to whom—this would depend on the percentage won by each party.

Here I would like to add a very important thing: This is a great challenge for the Parliament. In this new situation, the Parliament should give wide-ranging powers to the government to fulfill its functions, the functions aimed at guaranteeing the satisfaction of society's expectations and the rapid—though not painless—progress of Poland.

The president expects his proposals to be examined by representatives of all the parties that took part in the elections. In addition, consultations will begin today. At present, the president is awaiting the official results in order to make the final decision on what action to take within his powers.

Meets With Kuron

LD2910231691 Warsaw PAP in English 2212 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 29—President Lech Walesa received Tuesday Solidarity veteran Jacek Kuron. The former labour minister in the Mazowiecki government was the first Polish politician to be received by the president after Sunday parliamentary elections.

Kuron, deputy chairman of the Democratic Union (UD), after the meeting expressed satisfaction over the fact that the president is fully aware that the new government has to enjoy the confidence of the president and at the same time have a parliamentary majority.

Referring to President Walesa's proposal concerning the new government, announced Tuesday afternoon, Kuron said that the taking over by the president of the prime minister's post "would be his immense personal risk."

Asked whether he himself will take over the prime minister's post, Kuron replied: "I think that it would not be a good solution at this moment."

Kuron, asked by newsmen why the president chose to hold his first talk after elections with him, replied: "I was the only one the president managed to reach..."

Walesa's Advisory Committee Stops Work 27 Oct

LD2910132191 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1300 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] The president's Advisory Committee stopped working on the day of the parliamentary elections. The president accepted the resignations of the seven-strong committee in mid-October. Former secretary of the Advisory Committee, Wojciech Wlodarczyk, stated that the resignations were not the breaking off of cooperation with the president.

Press Views Leaders' Tasks Following Elections

LD2910210691 Warsaw PAP in English 1239 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 29—The coming days and weeks will be a test of responsibility for all political forces in Poland but above all for the president and his camp, Adam Michnik wrote in GAZETA WYBORCZA on Tuesday refering to possible political scenarios after parliamentary elections.

Michnik deplores the fact that the sense of responsibility for the state became gradually replaced with "particularism, fanaticism and demagogy dominating in Polish politics".

The editor-in-chief of GAZETA WYBORCZA points out that nothing seems to indicate that the winner in the Sunday elections, the Democratic Union, will find partners ready to form a coalition government. "Two things are possible. Either the president appoints a cabinet of experts not linked to any party, which will receive the support of the Parliament or a coalition of pro-presidential groupings will be formed, which together with the Confederation of Independent Poland can count on parliamentary majority," Michnik predicts.

"It would be very dangerous if philosophy of revenge were to become a common basis of a pro-presidential cabinet and if slogans referring to a Catholic state of the Polish people and the policy of issuing empty money (increasing inflation rate-ed.) were to be its chief programmatic proposal," Michnik warns.

The question of responsibility is raised also in the commentary published by ZYCIE WARSZAWY which stresses that "though the parliamentary-government compromise might prove so difficult as to become impossible," the politicians should at least make an effort at reaching agreement.

The daily underlines this is a question of respect for the electorate while the lack of good will declared at the very outset is a serious political sin.

The TRYBUNA daily on its part called on politicians to remember that "democracy also means the ability to respect the will of electors and to respect the opponents".

"Nobody can say today that the left-wing forces have no mandate. The left-wing cannot form a government. It can be in the opposition. Within the framework of democracy or responsibility," TRYBUNA writes.

Poll Shows Public Opinion on Priority Issues

LD2910200291 Warsaw PAP in English 1943 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 29— In a public opinion poll carried out October 10 to 13 by the CBOS Institute people pointed to limiting unemployment, improving the situation in agriculture, and improving the standard of living of the worst off as the most important tasks facing a new government.

The respective percentages were 63, 53 and 36 of the respondents.

Next in the order of importance were such questions as fighting the recession (28 percent), fighting inflation (27), improving law and order (26).

Other important issues listed in the poll were: liquidation of the remnants of the communist system (17), protection of the environment (17), and struggle against abusing public positions for making private fortunes (also 17).

Only 3 percent of the respondents thought that the primary task of the new cabinet should be strengthening Poland's military might. Equally few people pointed to international relations and speeding up privatisation as the top priority issues (4 and 3 percent, respectively).

In another poll taken September 20 to 23, the same institute tested public attitudes towards the person and policies of Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz, the architect of the Polish economic reforms.

A total of 21 percent of the polled wanted Balcerowicz to stay on in a new government in his present capacity as deputy P.M. and finance minister. 6 percent saw him the next prime minister. 26 percent wanted him to stay on but with a diminished influence, while 23 percent preferred his leaving the cabinet. Another 20 percent had no opinion on the issue.

Stolojan on 'Dreadful' Energy Situation, Foreign Loans

AU2910161991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1229 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/10/1991—In an interview with "ROMANIA LIBERA" of October 29 Premier Theodor Stolojan specified that one of the problems confronting his government in this period is energy. In his opinion the situation is "dreadful," the black oil stock being 31 per cent of that last year. To overcome this difficult moment Mr. Stolojan announced as imminent the signing of the document for the granting of a loan by the Group of 24 to finance the imports of oil and black oil, which, nevertheless, does not solve the problem but is a good start.

The second problem facing the government is the price, wage and unification of exchange rates problem, the premier said.

He noted that after the December 1989 revolution Romania had a reserve of 1.4-1.7 billion dollars plus almost three billion dollars in debts the retrieval of which was particularly difficult. Exports were made to countries from which the retrieval of money was extremely uncertain. Certainly, our imbalanced economy wasted those reserves in 1990 and started making a short-term and a medium-and long-term debt. Loans were requested from the World Fund, from the World Bank, lines of credit were opened. The loan is contracted but not received yet, Mr. Stolojan said, adding: Certainly, we cannot do without it but the problem is to make the economy earn from exports. This is possible, staring next year even. He showed that exports were to be stimulated, in machine and equipment building for instance, assessing that without exports any economy structured like ours and relying on energy imports in a proportion of almost 60 per cent can last one or two years at the most.

In another string of ideas, Premier Stolojan declared for firm measures against black marketeering, corruption, abuse, fiscal evasion.

In his opinion, local elections should be held before the end of this year. As for the fairness of elections, he showed that, alongside foreign observers to be invited to monitor the elections, associations of volunteers would be set up to the same end. Foreign experts might be resorted to as well.

Stolojan Asks Parliament To Approve Elections Date

AU2910190991 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Tonight Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan addressed the Constituent Assembly—the joint session of the two chambers of the Parliament—suggesting to the legislative body that it consider and decide on holding local elections on 15 December, if possible together with the referendum on the constitution. Here is Mr. Theodor Stolojan's speech in Parliament.

[Begin Stolojan recording] Messrs. presidents and parliamentarians, I thank you for this opportunity to address the House, since I would like to emphasize a few points. Both from consultations I held with political party leaders—actually with the delegations of the political parties represented in Parliament, during the negotiations on the formation of the new government—and from subsequent talks with leading members of these parties and other party representatives, several issues pertaining to our political life became quite obvious. They mainly had to do with the organization of local and general elections, which is the main political goal of the current government.

I do not intend to reiterate now all the problems on which there is or is not consensus. Likewise, I do not want you to consider this speech an intervention in the Parliament's activity. I said that I will never do such a thing, that is, to influence the Parliament and try to intervene in its activity. However, I consider it my duty to make this proposal—that is why I asked you to allow me to address you—since all the analyses made thus far have led to the same conclusion, namely, that the last possible date for holding local elections this year is 15 December, after which the winter holidays are coming, as you very well know. Consequently, we suggest that you examine and decide whether this date is suitable for the local elections.

In our opinion, the organization of local elections can be ensured from the viewpoint of the necessary material means. Second, these elections may be coupled with the referendum on the constitution, since it would be better to avoid having three ballots, which are quite expensive. At the same time, allow me to point out the following: Aside from domestic calls for local elections until the end of the year, the government has also received signals from abroad—signals conveyed through absolutely all foreign dignitaries we met with in this period, (?including) the suggestions of the ambassadors of certain countries, who are accredited here and monitor political developments in our country—to the extent that it would be advisable for local elections to be held before the end of this year. [Words indistinct] I believe we should not postpone the local elections until next year. We have to give the elected organs time to take over and familiarize themselves with the tasks of local administration, to be able to organize next year's general elections.

Regarding the budget financing of the electoral campaign, the government intends to examine without delay [word indistinct] the possibilities of granting financial aid or other kind of assistance—facilities, communications, transportation—with an absolutely rigorous control of electoral expenses, in view of the known principle that public money should be used for the good of the public.

Of course, consultations on these issues will continue, including yesterday's discussion with the president of Romania. The president plans to meet with the heads of political parties next Friday for consultations on this issue.

It would be very good if, after due examination of this information gathered in such a short time, the 15 December moment were to become the most important event of the end of this year, so that we can celebrate the winter holidays with the situation clarified and with the satisfaction of having concluded an important stage of our mandate. Thank you. [end recording]

Daily on FSN's Role in New Conditions

AU3010090591 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 24 Oct 91 p 1

[Marin Badea article: "Radicalization of Political Debates"]

[Text] After two years all but three months in which Romanian political life was dominated by a tandem with capital letters in our considerably tested contemporary history—the Iliescu-Roman tandem—one of the two has temporarily made his exit. We are convinced that it will really be a temporary withdrawal. We repeat, this withdrawal has been from the sphere of executive decision-making, not from the great scene of Romanian political life, since the National Salvation Front [FSN], as the party of the revolution, cannot and has no right to withdraw from the political scene; especially as it has a majority in the legislative until the conclusion of its current mandate, and it has the duty to complete the drafting and adoption of the constitution. The Front must also submit, alongside other political forces represented in Parliament, the law on local administration (regardless of disagreements arising out of professional conceit, as those invoked, in a rather pathetic voice, by Senator Antonie Iorgovan in the Senate last Monday afternoon). The Front is also duty bound to ensure an accelerated pace in parliamentary activity for the adoption of the law on local elections and a possible revision of the law on general elections.

It is also certain that the FSN will not remain in abeyance and merely follow the government's actions, because it also bears a direct responsibility in this respect, a burden which cannot be shouldered by its ministers alone. The FSN will have to prove that—also from its "semi-opposition"—it has the power to formulate constructive suggestions for various spheres of state administration.

The "pause" in its full exertion in the act of governing must be used by the FSN to launch a broad and steady campaign to increase its strength as a political party. It will probably have to start with a thorough, rigorous, even electrifying debate, with emphasis on the likely mistakes made in organization, in relations with the electorate, or in having ignored, until now, certain categories of people. This debate should be conducted without reserve, fully aware of the perception that he who does not examine the past in a critical spirit, risks repeating past mistakes. Therefore, we dare to say that the achievements of the Roman government—without underestimating them in the least—must be considered as past history; its failures, which might have contributed to some extent to last September's political crisis, should be the subject of critical analysis and true political debate.

Hence the need for a truly radical political debate, as Mr. Petre Roman told our colleagues Corina Cretu and Irinel Radulescu. This debate should focus on the FSN physiognomy in all its component parts: from ideology to organizational structure, from statistics concerning the age, profession, and other characteristics of its members and supporters to the most adequate forms and means of action to strengthen the adhesion of those who stayed faithful and to gain the endorsement of new people. In the light of the forthcoming elections, the FSN can and must be a party with appeal to the electorate, so that the latter is willing to vote for it, since the Front primarily stands for democracy and economic reform, as well as for modernizing social, political, and institutional structures, asserting overall freedoms, and defending the various authentic national interests.

In a pluralistic society, as ours has already become, what matters is obviously the quality of the program with which a given party presents itself to the electorate. Another appeal is the respective party's prominent political personalities. A party's credibility before the people and crowds, that is before those who are going to cast their votes, is conferred, to a large extent, by the political (and personal) charm of its central and local leaders. Here, we think the FSN is faced with a difficult mission. There may even be need for surgery, painful but absolutely necessary: the Front must proceed to a moral cleansing of its ranks. We maintain that this can also be done along the same path of radical debate and open confrontation—not in more or less draped rooms, but out, in broad daylight.

We are convinced that victory or failure in the confrontation with the electorate will depend on the radicalism and success of this debate. Let us count on the bounteous radiance of the rose [the FSN symbol].

Parliamentarians Condemn Separatist Moves

AU2910161191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0823 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/10/1991—Romania's two chambers of Parliament met on Monday 28 October in a joint session to discuss the report of a parliamentary commission that heard complaints from individuals who were forced out of their jobs and homes in Harghita and Covasna Counties after 22 December 1989. After a first round of discussions last week that gave leaders of

political parties represented in the two houses an opportunity to show their position on the report, many parliamentarians of different political allegiances took the floor, yesterday.

All speakers denounced the serious happenings in Harghita and Covasna after the December 1989 revolution. Reference was made to actions and attitudes on the revolution days, to separatist actions in learning and health units, to marginalisations and even eviction of ethnic Romanians from the units they worked in or the places they lived in. Commentaries supported by concrete arguments—supplied by the report or known directly—were made on the desecration of graves and memorials, and the change of street names. The greater part of the speakers urged Parliament to see that the culprits be brought to justice on the basis of the laws in force. Furthermore, they voiced the wish of the citizens of the country that the report be translated into widely circulated languages and sent to human rights bodies, to the UN for the correct information of the world community.

Parliamentarians representing the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania—UDMR—also took the floor. Without flatly contesting certain concrete examples of blamable facts comprised in the report, the UDMR parliamentarians affirmed that the report put a collective blame on the Hungarian minority. It should be said that the report repeatedly stresses that all the facts in the two counties were committed by a small number of citizens, not by collectivities as a whole.

Senators and lower-house members voiced their opinion that practice had shown that the UDMR was no political party, but a faction whose activity was unpatriotic, hostile to the country and its major interests. In context, a more detailed analysis of the UDMR activity in Parliament, in the country and abroad was urged.

Appeals to conciliation, understanding and harmony were also made during the debates which showed that the Romanians and the Hungarians had no choice but to live together in peace. The government was also urged to support the return of all people who were forced to take refuge in other parts of the country, to initiate measures that would make such acts as occurred in Harghita and Covasna Counties irrepeatable and to strictly enforce the laws.

Silviu Brucan Discusses New Government

AU2610195091 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 23 Oct 91 pp 1, 2

[Second part of interview with political scientist Silviu Brucan by Nicolae Tone; place and date not given: "The Stolojan Government Means a Break With the Past"—first part of interview not published by Daily Report]

[Excerpts] [Tone] A few days ago Romania's Parliament endorsed a new government. Let us discuss this important political event.

[Brucan] I believe that the Stolojan government means a break with the past. Not a complete break, but a partial one, and this is obvious. This time around the National Salvation Front [FSN] has been joined not by some minor groups within its orbit, but by the main opposition party—the National Liberal Party [PNL]. I believe that this break will have a positive influence on the political activity in our country and on the credibility abroad of Romania's new government.

I would also like to emphasize the recent positions held by Senator Radu Campeanu and the PNL. I was especially impressed with something that is very unusual—or rather unique—in Romanian politics. I am talking of the fact that, although the only counties in which Mr. Campeanu won a massive number of favorable votes were Covasna and Harghita, when it came to actions toward the autonomy of the Szeklers' land, he held a firmly critical stance. Please note, we are dealing here with a very important thing in politics—a statesman rose above electoral interests and clearly placed national interests above all else. I pay homage to such a gesture. This is a rare and unique thing in Romanian politics, and I think it merits emphasis.

[Tone] Were you surprised at the alliance between the FSN and PNL? Did you anticipate it?

[Brucan] Yes, I did. [passage omitted] From discussions I had with liberal leaders, I noted that they realized that unproductive negativist criticism of the government and an attitude of opposition at all costs do not serve the PNL. [passage omitted] All those parties in our country, which cultivate force, violence, and applaud strikes that paralyze the national economy and people who climb either the fence of the Cotroceni Palace [Presidency seat], the fence of the television building, or set fires, have no chance in the election. Who wants a government made up of people who applaud strikes and climb public institutions? [passage omitted] The liberals have understood these obvious things. I can say that already during the negotiations we conducted in the winter and spring of 1990, there was a clear-cut difference between Mr. Campeanu's and Mr. Coposu's positions. The former was against force and violence. There has always been a certain reticence in the liberals. This is, I believe, the element that created the preconditions for what has happened now: Their participation in Romania's Government. Thus, the liberals were the first ones to realize that, to demonstrate that the PNL is a party that is able to govern, it has to shoulder responsibility and prove that it is not only able to criticize, but also to work. I believe that some competent people have been chosen for the new government formula: Mircea Ionescu-Quintus—justice; and George Danielescu—economy and finance; they are qualified people who, learning from recent mistakes, may achieve positive results in their respective sectors. In conclusion, I believe that the PNL has made a wise decision to participate in this government. Thus it demonstrates to the country that, at this critical point when the situation of the economy is

disastrous and when foreign credits are zero, it is prepared to assume responsibility and risks.

[Tone] How would you assess the role of the Ecological Movement of Romania in this alliance?

[Brucan] It is less important, because the Ecological Movement represents a minor political formation. I have said it before: There is no use for two or three ecological parties in Romania. [passage omitted]

[Tone] Will the Stolojan government be able to take Romania out of this crisis? [passage omitted]

[Brucan] I think that Stolojan was a good choice. However, the simple fact that he was elected prime minister does not mean that he will be successful in his actions, because the task he has to fulfill is extremely difficult. As a matter of fact, he is not even able to make certain major decisions, because he is the head of a transition government whose main task it is to organize the coming elections. In my view, the only thing he can do is to alleviate the difficulties this winter. If he succeeds in doing that, then he deserves—so to say—the nation's gratitude. More than this we cannot expect from Stolojan and his government.

[Tone] Mr. Brucan, in your recent television interview you made a (new) affirmation that hit the public like a bomb: "The shock therapy is doomed to fail in Romania." Let us dwell on this very controversial issue.

[Brucan] Yes, I did say this on television, and I repeat it now: "The shock therapy has no chance in Romania." Those who place stress only on pace and only on making certain changes and processes occur faster, are mistaken. Surely, people want things to happen as swiftly as possible to get rid once and for all of this everyday stress they are subjected to; however, in examining this "as swiftly as possible" we will see that things are very, very complicated, and very serious, too. Someone said that Petre Roman moved "too slowly" in his actions. Let us see what all these things linked to the shock therapy mean in detail. It means that energy prices, rents, the prices of milk, bread, sugar, and edible oil should immediately be liberalized. I believe that no government can afford such a luxury.

In the summer I wrote an article in LIBERTATEA in which I said: Roman, do not proceed with your reform "while the light is red," because not only the miners, but the whole country will rise. The new foodstuffs and energy prices were postponed, and that was a good thing.

One should not forget that our people have already gone through a period of great privation and suffering during Ceausescu's time. People are not prepared to tolerate another such round. I hope Stolojan will not make this mistake. [passage omitted] We have to establish the market economy while paying great attention to the social factor. The opinions of those who confine themselves just to the economy are wrong, because they ignore the social factor. The social factor is not ready to tolerate a "faster pace" in the privatization process either, because it may lead to massive unemployment—1-2 million jobless.

We are not prepared for retraining those people to make it possible for a great number of workers to transfer from industry to public services. This is a basic solution. This is what happened in the United States and in West European countries. [passage omitted] The transfer of manpower to new areas of activity, areas that are at an initial stage, is a very painful and difficult process involving the retraining and qualification of masses of people, and this is not something that can be done swiftly. Therefore, what is at stake here is not only the economic pace, but a proper assessment of the social factor.

[Tone] What was the response after you made this statement on shock therapy? I think that Mr. Petre Roman and his team had no reason—even though they were resigning—to be exceedingly pleased to hear you say such a thing.

[Brucan] My dear, I can show you the article in LIBERTATEA entitled: "Roman, Do Not Walk Through a Red Light!" That was in August. Thus I did not exactly say new things on television. I realized that the reform had hit a psychosocial barrier, because people can take only so much. Every day I am in town to feel the pulse of the people. This made me voice that categorical affirmation. This is not my first public appearance that has caused virulent reactions. When I said that it will take us 20 years to learn what democracy means, Mr. Paler wrote that I am "antipatriotic." After 20 May, Messrs. Ratiu, Campeanu, and other opposition leaders said to me: "Mr. Brucan, it is rather conservative to estimate only 20 years." Therefore, I want to repeat: One cannot discuss the reform only from an economic angle. The social factor in Romania is not prepared to endure a new period of hardships and suffering after enduring Ceausescu's period. One has to bear this in mind. From a political point of view, one also has to bear in mind: The market economy should not become an unpopular cause.

Dynamics of Foreign Investment Reviewed

AU2410192691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1815 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/10/1991—With the start of the process of building an economic and legal framework to favor the market economy as many as 1,501 commercial companies with foreign capital boasting a total nominal capital of 5 615,056 thousand lei, of which in hard currency 128.69 million dollars, were created in 1990.

Following the creation of a relatively well-defined framework for foreign investment in Romania, as many as

4,767 commercial companies with contributions of foreign capital were registered in the first nine months of 1991 and their nominal capital in hard currency amounts to 120.06 million dollars.

At present, the total number of commercial companies with contributions of foreign capital stands at 6,268 and their nominal capital in hard currency is worth 248.75 million dollars.

This investment was made by companies and natural persons from 91 countries. Noteworthy is also the fact that foreign partners from 17 countries invested in more than 100 commercial companies. Furthermore, commercial companies from 27 countries made investment worth more than one million dollars.

A salient feature of the foreign investment made in Romania, Mr. Florin Bonciu, director in the Romanian Development Agency, told a "ROMPRES " writer, is the existence of a large number of small foreign investment and of a small number of important investment with notable effects on the national economy. So, for instance, 0.59 per cent of the total number of commercial companies with foreign contribution hold roughly 52 percent of the total invested capital, while 92 per cent of the total number of commercial companies with contributions of foreign capital hold 19 per cent of the invested capital.

Chronologically, one can speak of a positive evolution, he added. After an early period spanning 1990 and the first half of 1991, when small and very small foreign investment made by natural persons prevailed, in the first half of 1991 the interest of large companies increased, some of these companies (Coca-Cola, Colgate-Palmolive, etc.) making substantial investment.

Daily Advocates Currency Convertibility Postponement

AU2510164991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1226 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/10/1991—Announced as impending by the former Roman cabinet and very close by the current Stolojan cabinet, the internal convertibility of the national currency is unquestionable as importance within the reform toward a free market economy, writes daily ADEVARUL in an article entitled "The Time For Vital Economic Decisions. Do We Take the Risk?" .

However, if applied by the year's end, the daily reads, the convertibility may bring about dramatic consequences in a short run, since we will have to cope with an economically difficult winter and a hard to assess social reaction. "The population", the daily shows, "is absolutely not prepared to bear the shock of this measure against the background of grave distortions in the domain of social security. Objectively, the convertibility of the leu will trigger a new explosion of prices at home (caused by the rise in the dollar rate from 60 lei to an estimated 160-180 lei) and, implicitly, substantive salary indexations". The salary rises will have to be handled by the commercial companies in the most difficult winter months—next January and February—when economic forecasts predict spectacular production drops and a minimal market take-in, even more stagnant investments and income (expenditure budgets) in full process of adjustment. For these reasons, the daily shows, "there is a great risk that, while prices mount, incomes are impossible to index and winter comes with its specific hardships, real waves of social unrest should emerge", that will affect first of all the boards of administration of the now fully 'autonomous' commercial companies. Therefore, "to postpone the convertibility of the leu by next spring seems to us a wise step", the paper

International

Report on Bank Transfer of Foreign Currency to PRC

AU3010170991 Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK in Slovene 24 Oct 91 p 1

[Unattributed "exclusive" report: "National Bank of Yugoslavia Burying Yugoslav 'State Treasure' in China?"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 24 October—The major news of today is without doubt an attempted financial transaction by the National Bank of Yugoslavia. According to the first rumors, foreign currency reserves and other "state treasures" were supposed to be transferred to one of the last bastions of communism, China. However, the U.S. State Department prevented it after intervention by Slovenia.

However, the official version, given by Finance Minister Dusan Sesok, sounds somewhat different. On Tuesday , (29 October) the National Bank of Yugoslavia attempted to transfer certain funds through the U.S. Federal Reserve Bank (where the National Bank of Yugoslavia has deposits) to another state. To which one, Dusan Sesok did not know. An attempt was allegedly made to transfer approximately $250 million with the intention of withdrawing foreign currency reserves before the final settlement of the accounts of the former Yugoslavia is drawn up. Dusan Sesok intervened immediately on behalf of the Slovene Government through the Slovene representative in the United States, Ernest Petric. The Minister of Finance did not know for certain last night whether the State Department succeeded in preventing the transaction. In his opinion, such actions are very difficult to thwart.

Slovene Company Gets International Transit Permits

AU3010154191 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] It is public knowledge that Slovene transportation companies had great problems in obtaining road permits [prometna dovolilnica] for transiting European roads. The problems emerged because it was the Federal Economic Chamber that was granting these permits. Janko Pirkovic, assistant Minister of Traffic and Communications, today briefed us on novelties relating to the transport and transit permits for goods and passengers in the international transport with Croatia and other countries.

The Ministry of Traffic and Communications has informed the authorized ministries of the European countries to which Slovene agents most frequently forward freight about the situation in Slovenia. Germany immediately issued an unlimited amount of permits for transport on German roads. Italy and Hungary acted similarly. Austria has been causing some problems, although the Ministry for Traffic and Communications is convinced that these will be resolved soon. We also tried to reach an agreement with the states, that is to say, republics of the former Yugoslavia. The traffic with these republics will be regulated in the same way as with the West European countries. However, the agreement was only signed with Croatia. The signing of the agreement with Bosnia- Hercegovina is expected to take place soon. All the other republics, headed by Serbia, did not even bother responding to our offers. Our correspondent Dusan Tomazic reports that this means, for example, that upon the arrival on the Croat-Slovene border, a Serbian carrier will have to pay for road permit in addition to the duty for the usage of Slovene roads. Road permits will have to be paid for with a convertible currency or its equivalent in Slovene tolars. The Ministry of Traffic and Communications is convinced that due to the new regime, the international freight traffic will grow denser in the next few days. For bus and [word indistinct] traffic the rule will continue to apply that carriers do not need road permits to travel abroad. The new rules will take effect on 13 November.

Albanian Diplomat Arrested, Fined

LD2910170891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1339 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Pristina, 29 October (TANJUG)—Judge of the municipal magistrate's court in Kosovska Mitrovica has fined Albanian diplomat Idajet Begirij. He was arrested together with four other Albanian citizens in Leposavic, where their visit had not been officially announced.

Investigation proved that by the end of last week they spent two days touring Kosovo and Metohija. The Albanian diplomate kept saying that he was only passing through with the others and that their destination was Romania. Security bodies, however, returned them to the Yugoslav-Albanian border and handed them over to the Albanian authorities.

Large quantities of propaganda material and two passports of Albanian citizens who were not travelling in the vehicle were found in a Mercedes car with diplomatic number plates.

Kostic on Tudjman Policy, Austrian 'Interference'

LD2910153291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1326 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Vienna, October 29 (TANJUG)—"Peace does not suit Tudjman because the right wing of his party permanently threatents to overthrow him," Vice President of the Yugoslav Presidency Branko Kostic said in an interview published by the Vienna Daily DER STANDARD today.

Kostic also said that the Croatian president did not honour any ceasefire agreement concluded so far because he believes that it will bring closer the recognition of Croatia.

He explained why the Yugoslav presidency cannot agree to the EC proposal to "split Yugoslavia into six independent republics." "In this way we would simply efface Yugoslavia from the map of Europe.... Which the constitution does not allow us to do," he pointed out.

Asked why the Serbian press so vehemently accuses Austria and Germany and even talks of some sort of a fourth Reich, Jostic replied: 'this is quite obvious, the point here is an open interference in internal affairs of the Yugoslav state.'

"This relates especially to the conduct of Foreign Minister Alois Mock, whose aggressiveness is a result of the one-sided information he receives," emphasized Kostic.

Foreign Officials Visit Dubrovnik; Arrival Delayed

LD2910153991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Excerpt] At 1300 today, the ambassadors of Italy, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Greece, the U.S. deputy ambassador, and the Belgrade-accredited military attaches of Italy, Great Britain, the United States, and Greece, accompanied by Dr. Hrvoje Kacic, chairman of the Croatian Assembly Foreign Affairs Committee, arrived in Dubrovnik's old town port aboard a special army boat. Permission for their visit to Dubrovnik was given by the military, or rather Boka Naval Sector Authorities, who, however, did their utmost to ensure that the eminent diplomats and military envoys arrived in Dubrovnik as late as possible, and spent as little time there as possible. They were expected to arrive at 1130, but the military authorities did not allow the respected delegation to travel to Dubrovnik via Konavli and Zupa Dubrovacka. [passage omitted]

Paper Condemns German Conduct Over Republics

LD2910211391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1046 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 29 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily POLITIKA today writes that Germany is violating a number of international conventions and codes of conduct with its support for the republics of Croatia and Slovenia to break up Yugoslavia and its threat of sanctions against the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

The daily, close to the Serbian leadership, lists in the lengthy article seven major international treaties and conventions signed since World War Two that the Bonn government is violating.

POLITIKA writes that, with its interference in the Yugoslav crisis, Germany is violating the U.N. Charter, although Yugoslavia is one of the few countries that founded the United Nations in 1945, while Germany was received in membership a full 28 years later, because the world had found it hard to forgive and forget.

Germany is disregarding the CSCE principles by taking upon itself to judge, dictate, threaten or mobilize others for economic and military sanctions, the daily writes. Equally, it is disregarding the promises made by Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher at the time of unification, writes POLITIKA.

Only a year after the promises were made, Germany has not only radically changed to its advantgage the ratio of forces in Europe but is, through pressure, economic embargo and financial sanctions jeopardizing the security interests of Yugoslavia. Taking the lead with threatening messages is precisely Hans-Dietrich Genscher, writes POLITIKA.

As different from Germany, The Netherlands has no special interests in Yugoslavia, with the exception of Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek, who is making hurried experiments with the Yugoslav crisis as per German prescriptions, in the hope of being elected U.N. secretary-general later this year, writes the daily.

The concentration of power is alarming, with Germans heading the secretariat-general of NATO, the Western European Union (WEU), the CSCE, the E.C. treasury, the conservative majority in the European Parliament. Furthermore, Germany is dominating world finances and trade. German pressure on Yugoslavia should really worry Europe, POLITIKA writes in conclusion.

Federal

Opposition Agrees on Basics of Peace Accord

LD2910174691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1408 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 29 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily BORBA writes today that Yugoslavia's bourgeois opposition has prepared fundamentals from which should proceed the preparation and conclusion of an agreement on peace in Yugoslavia, which they will send to the conference in The Hague.

The daily says the round table meeting of the Yugoslav opposition and the authorities in Sarajevo, capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, accepted the initiative by The Hague conference and stressed that if a peace accord is not reached soon a war will be continued for deserted land, a demolished infrastructure, the ruins of cultural heritage of once inestimable value, and mass graves.

The meeting, which was held last week, assembled representatives of the Yugoslav opposition and authorities, including bourgeois parties from the Yugoslav republics of Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia and Slovenia, and representatives of the federal authorities.

Members of the Yugoslav bourgeois opposiiton, the daily points out, are advocating the creation of a Yugoslav army, which would be a professional force, directly controlled by the civilian authorities, and divested of any ideological or political role in suppressing democratic processes.

The daily writes that the proposals being launched in Sarajevo have since recently begun reaching European ministers, including the chairman of the peace confeence in The Hague, Lord Carrington, and that even the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, have shown interest in the ideas launched at the gathering.

Daily Says Europe Adjusting to Realities

LD2910211791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1113 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 29 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily BORBA today publishes a commentary criticizing the "avalanche of protests mainly in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia and newly formed Serbian regions in the Yugoslav Republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina," and their view that Europe "is dissolving the Yugoslav state" by the proposed Hague declaration.

"The Twelve are only aware of the Yugoslav realities and are adjusting to them," the daily says.

"The state was both created and dissolved by the leaders, each time in the name of the people," writes BORBA replying to the "authors of the latest campaign against the E.C.'s peace mediation in the Yugoslav crisis."

The daily cites a number of occasions when the federal constitution of 1974 was violated on various sides, whenever it was in the interest of individual republics, only to be invoked whenever they considered it necessary.

In the meantime, the war has "devoured" all federal institutions. Only the Yugoslav People's Army has remained, but it too announces its radical transformation because it does not wish to be an army of "those who do not want to live in new Yugoslavia"—writes BORBA.

It points out that 'any persistence in arguing that the state (as it used to be) still exists contains other connotations and intentions, primarily an attempt to inherit Yugoslavia's by no means negligible property and name by retaining its legal continuity in an artificial way and by "resurrecting" the state organs which have disappeared.

The daily concludes by saying that to inherit the country's name and property is the shortest way to "substantially changing the borders between its present parts.... By means of integrating the peoples wishing to live in this country" now when it is rapidly disappearing.

Slovenia

Commission Plans Active Role in Hague Conference

LD3010130191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1142 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 30 Oct (TANJUG)—Slovenia continues its active participation in the work of The Hague peace conference. This stand was endorsed today by the Slovene Commission for International Relations after hearing reports on the conference's progress by Slovene delegation members including Slovenian President Milan Kucan. Kucan stressed that agreeing with Lord Carrington's concept is not the same as agreeing to the concept of loose links between the Yugoslav republics, alluding to such interpretations, in his view erroneous interpretations, among the public.

Slovenia's representatives in the three Hague commissions, which will resume their session today, will ask for an "economic truce" because of the economic war which the Federal authorities are waging against Slovenia. The most blatant, and the last in a series of such steps, is the cancellation of the license of the Slovene airline Adria Airways which the chairman of The Hague conference, Lord Carrington, publicly described as a most harmful measure.

The Slovenes will go on asking for approval for formation of the fourth Hague commission to concern itself with the problems of dissociation and succession because, as Slovene Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel stressed, Slovenia's ambition is to be outside the union of the five, that is, the union of the other Yugoslav republics. As far as economic ties are concerned, Slovenia is interested only in a free trade zone and not in a custom union.

Slovene Industrial Production Steady

AU2910154291 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 19 Oct 91 p 3

[Article by Ilja Popit: "Production Has Not Decreased"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 18 Oct—Slovene industry has maintained its August momentum and showed the smallest decline in September, after Kosovo. It produced 11.2 percent less than in September 1990. In the nine-month period, the production level dropped 10.9 percent compared last year's production for the same period of time. The same development has already been evident in the past eight months.

As long as we cooperate with the Yugoslav statistics, we are offered some consolation, albeit a poor one, as it is shown that we are, relatively speaking, still well off, since we are doing better than, for instance, industries in other republics. If we separate we will have to compare ourselves with Italy and Austria, and there will not be much to brag about. This will probably not have the best impact on the self-confidence of Slovenes. If we compare the Slovene industrial results in September we can determine that they are relatively better. Total Yugoslav industrial output in September of this year was 23.8 percent lower than in September of last year; in Kosovo it was 9.7 percent lower, in Slovenia 11.2 percent lower, in Macedonia 13.4 percent lower, in Montenegro 15.2 percent lower, in Vojvodina 16.6 percent lower, in Serbia proper 20.6 percent lower, in Bosnia-Hercegovina 28.3 percent lower, and in Croatia 42.5 percent lower.

According to the assurances given by the Slovene Statistics Bureau, the data on industrial production are reliable, while other data, especially on foreign trade, are less reliable. Since 17 September, Slovenia and Croatia have stopped sending customs declarations to Belgrade. Consequently, Belgrade could only assess the amount of foreign trade for September. The disintegration of the statistics system is also our fault. At today's press conference, Tomaz Banovec, director of the Statistics Bureau, said that as a result some data is missing. According to the plans, we are to separate from the federal statistics system by the end of the year. Employees in the Federal Statistics Bureau would like to continue working to keep their jobs. Tomaz Banovec admitted that it would be useful for us to preserve these links in order to get these data and to draw up a final settlement of accounts, and it would be useful for Croatia in order to assess the war damage. It is also expected abroad that Yugoslavia will remain at least a loose economic community because we are expected to repay the loans. If you are a community then you must also have statistics for it. Next month, the foreign trade data are to be collected by the Slovene Statistics Bureau through Slovene customs officials. The Bank of Slovenia will report on net trade, and the Statistics bureau on gross trade in commodities. Trade with Croatia is now considered foreign trade. Banovec also pointed out that the balance of trade figures will also have to include trade between citizens, private individuals, and tourists, as is customary in the West. However, at times of military conflict we must not expect that data on imports would not be changed. He also mentioned that from now on the Republican Bureau should publish all data together, without preferential lists, for whoever is interested. Some statistical data, for instance on prices, is valuable stock exchange information, which determines the amount of profit; consequently there must not be inequality here, Banovec said.

Taking into account the known omissions in the foreign trade data, the data are as follows: in September, Slovene exports in dollars should be 28.5 percent lower than last year, and imports as much as 73 percent. There are also undeclared omissions, for instance, in the data on finished products in stock. The estimated percentage in September is the same as in August. As usual, the amount of domestic trade in Slovenia is estimated—a 6 percent higher wholesale trade and a 10 percent higher retail trade than in August. Average net income in Slovenia for September was 10,100 dinars or 1.5 percent higher than in August and 69 percent higher than a year ago, although real income is much lower.

Because of the lack of more solid data on sales, we can perhaps use the statements of Slovene enterprises that the statistical Bureau collects. According to them, 30 percent of industry is well provided with domestic orders, and 38 percent with foreign ones. These not too encouraging figures have primarily been published since July. The supply of raw materials and spare parts, domestic as well as imported, is further deteriorating. There are also fewer people employed and increasing numbers of unemployed, 77,844 at the end of August.

Croatia

Aircraft Fire Missiles at Osijek

LD3010172491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Report from Osijek by Branko Kuna]

[Text] Today once again enemy aircraft dropped their deadly cargo on Osijek. At the moment the situation in the town is quiet, as it was this morning. Around noon sirens announced danger from the air. At about 1300 several aircraft made high-altitude passes over Osijek, firing three air-to-ground guided missiles. All three missiles hit housing and industrial buildings where there were no military forces, as is seen by the fact that 16 civilians and two policemen were injured during the raid.

The tactics of the aggressor have changed considerably. Judging by what has been happening recently, there are aircraft overflights and missile attacks by day and artillery shelling by night.

The village of Laslovo, and also Vukovar, were mercilessly shelled today by artillery weapons. A multibarrel missile launcher attack on Laslovo and Silas is still going on. Ernestinovo and Antunovac have also been attacked, but the intensity of the attack today is somewhat weaker.

Aid to Osijek has again been arriving today. On this particular occasion 10 trucks have come from Istria with aid for over 17,000 new inhabitants of Osijek [sentence as heard].

Mesic Joins Dubrovnik-Bound Convoy

LD2910222991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2153 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Split, October 29 (TANJUG)—Prior to the departure of a convoy of vessels from Split carrying inhabitants of Dubrovnik returning to their city, Premier of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Franjo Greguric said on Tuesday [29 October] evening that "this was just the beginning of moving and returning of the population from exile to their occupied villages and towns."

At a press conference, Greguric announced that in two weeks such a convoy with refugees/returnees would leave for Vukovar, a city in eastern Slavonija.

Vukovar has been fully surrounded for one month, and together with its vicinity was the site of heavy fighting between the Croatian armed formations and the Yugoslav army units.

Presidency of Yugoslavia President Stjepan Mesic (from Croatia) has joined in Split the Dubrovnik-bound convoy. The convoy carries some 500 people.

Mesic told a press conference he understood this journey as a test which is to show whether the army "still had a shred of reason" and whether it understood the limits the world has imposed on it and on Serbia.

The Yugoslav army units were three kilometers from Dubrovnik and as their commander said had no intention of withdrawing until members of the Croatian armed formations in the city lay down their arms. Some 80,000 persons from the battle sites moved to quieter parts of Croatia.

A total of 125,668 persons have to date fled to the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia from Croatia.

Belgrade Daily Says 'Anarchy' Spreading

LD2910141691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1318 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 29 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily BORBA writes today that the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia is in the midst of a "twilight of the state based on the rule of law."

"Anarchy is spreading at such a rate as to provoke the justified wrath of an increasing number of people," BORBA writes.

The daily says cars of diverse manufacture are being bought and sold "with no papers or licence plates and at incredible, quite ludicrous, prices of 500, 200 and even just one hundred German marks."

The cars, the daily says, come from the battlezones in Croatia "whose populations have fled for their lives, leaving behind not only real estate but also their moveable property."

"The Croatian National Guard corps and police units contain a number of criminals, who virtually openly steal the property of refugees, and in Zagreb and other sizeable Croatian towns break into locked flats and loot them," BORBA says.

"Croatian policemen in the town of Sibenik are moving into fully furnished flats vacated by Yugoslav Army officers," BORBA writes.

The number of firearms held by citizens is spiralling, the daily notes, adding that in Zagreb and other towns an "enormous increase has been recorded of shootouts in residential areas and even the bombings of cars and flats by grudge-bearing neighbours and acquantances."

Travel Restrictions Tightened for Men

LD2910165991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1215 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, 29 Oct (TANJUG)—Citizens of the Republic of Croatia, men between the ages of 18 and 60, must not leave their area of residence without permission. This measure, the Zagreb City Secretariat for National Defence has announced, "was introduced in August following an order issued by the president of the Republic of Croatia" but so far the public has not been familiar with it. "Now, this measure will be implemented more strictly", Zvonimir Cervenko, the secretary of the city secretariat for national defense, has told journalists.

Any Croatian citizen, between 18 and 60, commits a crime if he leaves his area of residence without permission. Permits are issued by competent secretariats for national defense.

Croatia's citizens, men between 18 and 60, are strictly banned from traveling abroad. Permission is given "only under special conditions", such as urgent medical treatment, serious medical condition or the death of next of kin in foreign countries, visiting close relatives who live abroad as refugees or schooling abroad. Only on All Souls' Day, 1 November, may the citizens of Croatia travel beyond their municipality and even abroad without special permission.

The special decision by the Zagreb secretariat for national defense also refers to men between 18 and 60 who are staying in Zagreb and are not its permanent residents. They must immediately register with the city secretariat for national defense. Otherwise they "will be forcibly" called up and face minor offence charges. Nothing has been said as to how long this strict limitation on freedom of movement for the citizens of Croatia will last.

General Raseta Rejects Army Disengagement

LD2910215291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Following the talks today between the Yugoslav Army and the Croatian army high command, Colonel Imre Agotic told journalists that the Croatian side had put forward a proposal of forces' disengagement beyond the range of artillery fire. Specifically, this means that the warring sides should be separated by a distance of about 40 kms. This demilitarized strip as proposed by the Croatian side should be supervised by international forces.

General Raseta does not accept this because it would amount to a definitive departure of the Yugoslav Army from the Republic of Croatia. General Raseta keeps stubbornly repeating that the Yugoslav Army withdrawal from occupied territories must be the subject of a new political agreement.

The Dubrovnik convoy has a pass permit from the so-called Yugoslav Army, but is subject to prior ship and personnel on board inspection. Regarding the humanitarian convoy for Vukovar initiated by the French Government this cannot be done as long as military conflicts in the area continue, said General Raseta at the end of the talks today.

TANJUG Roundup of Croatian Fighting

LD2910212191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1900 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, Vukovar, Bosanska Gradiska, Oct 29 (TANJUG)—After a relatively peaceful night, it was a disquiet day today on the battlefronts in Croatia, especially in eastern and western Slavonia and western Srem.

Croatian Radio reported that an attack on Borovo Naselje was repulsed, and Belgrade TV said that Serbian territorial defence (T.O.) and members of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) [YPA] from Borovo Selo returned fierce fire to Borovo Naselje. As was asserted, the Borovo rubber works was hit, as seen from a TV scene showing a huge column of dense smoke rising over Borovo Naselje.

Belgrade TV also reported about incessant artillery duels on Brsadin, a locality situated on the strategic direction between Vukovar and Vinkovci.

TANJUG learned from military sources that artillery battles were waged today between JNA members at Marinci and the Croatian forces around Bogdanovci. The two villages also are on the strategic Vukovar-Vinkovci direction. A JNA commander in this region confirmed to TANJUG that the fighting here broke out "when Croatian forces had tried to break through, but their attempt was thwarted."

Croatian Radio said that at about noon today, Federal Air Force heavily raided Vukovar with 250-500-kg bombs in support of simultaneous infantry attacks. Official Army sources neither confirmed nor denied this report, while unofficial sources referred to "usual street fighting in besieged Vukovar."

Army sources have not yet announced anything concerning a Radio Belgrade report which said that between Tovarnik and Ilaca a JNA truck was hit by a Zolja rocket killing three soldiers. Like an earlier attack, this attack on the JNA-controlled area is believed to have been carried out by a dispersed group of Croatian guardsmen from Tovarnik, although unofficial sources pointed out that the forces that had been sent into this area were "Ustashi terrorist and saboteur groups" commanded by the notorious Miro Baresic in person, the assassin of Yugoslav Ambassador to Sweden Rolovic.

Novi Sad TV reported from western Slavonia that Croatian forces today were shooting on the positions of the JNA Banja Luka Corps and Serbian T.O. members deployed alongside of the Novska-Nova Gradiska motorway section. It was asserted that in cases of violations of the ceasefire, the JNA responds seldom but when it does it opens "strong and precise fire."

Awaited here are rather strong counter-attacks by the Croatian forces now concentrating in the Drava Basin.

Minor battles were fought today, as Croatian Radio reported, also around Karlovac and Sisak, the only Croatian-controlled towns in the Banija and Kordun regions.

Serbia

Foreign Minister Veizovic Rejects EC 'Threats'

LD2910182991 Belghrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1809 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Oct (TANJUG)—"Serbia is not accepting ultimata and threats. This does not mean that it is not willing to take part in The Hague peace conference." The Serbian Deputy Foreign Minister, Dobroslav Veizovic, stated this for TANJUG.

"I expressed the same stand in talks with a journalist of a Dutch radio station this morning. The journalists wanted to find out whether Serbia would accept the ultimata according to which Serbia would face sanctions unless it accepted The Hague peace plan. I hold that it is not fair to issue threats and ultimatums especially during negotiations. In order to have real negotiations, it is necessary to listen to both sides. In this sense, it is obvious that the European Community does not have a good approach towards finding a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis," Veizovic stressed.

Kosutic Assails Declaration

LD2910180191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1650 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 29 October (TANJUG)—"The latest, the Brussels, declaration on Yugoslavia, must be considered in the context of the formation of a new international world system which in the view of the state (or the states) playing the main role in the EC, need not be based on law and justice and the legitimate interests of individual nations, but on power relations."

In an exclusive statement for TANJUG this was said by Serbian Vice Premier Dr Budimir Kosutic in connection with yesterday's decision by the EC Council of Ministers. He went on to say that it is obvious that the UN Charter means nothing to the EC and its member-countries, or they have clearly demonstrated in their global plan for the solution of the Yugoslav crisis and in their latest declaration from Brussels.

In support of this claim, Dr Kosutic recalled the principles implicit in Articles 1 and 2 of the UN Charter, including the obligation of each member-country to refrain from threats, especially threats to use force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any UN member.

What is even sadder, Dr Kosutic went on to say, the EC is also rejecting the CSCE principles, especially the

Helsinki final act and the Paris Charter on new Europe, as well as all other acts on which the process of cooperation in Europe is based .

" The EC member-countries are trying to establish the principles which differ when applied to themselves and when applied to other international community members. On the other hand a nation is identified with a federal unit and solutions are imposed which should mainly affect the Serbian nation. If EC countries are aspiring to peace and prosperity and if democracy, law and justice really mean anything to them, they should give the citizens and the peoples of Yugoslavia an opportunity in a democratic process and in the presence of representatives of the international community to express in which and in what kind of state they want to live. In addition, the EC should not refer to five republics—creations of the former communist regime—which they, moreover, strongly denounce," was the view expressed by the Serbian Vice Premier.

Dr Kosutic stressed in particular that he is convinced that despite the fact that all EC decisions were taken with smaller or greater unanimity, not all politicians and all peoples in this community share the stands that were expressed.

"I am afraid that they will realize that to the extent they worked against the interests of the Serbian people, freedom, justice and democracy, they worked also against the interests of their own people. As far as the Serbian people are concerned, they will have to find a way not only to live through these tragic events and these unjust times when justice and right are on their side, but also to open up the prospects of their future status as well," Dr Budimir Kosutic said in conclusion.

Commentary on Deadline

AU2910180191 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Commentary by Milorad Denda]

[Text] Yesterday's decision by the EC ministers to give Serbia a deadline of 5 November to decide, as they put it, whether or not it intends to take part in the process of resolving the Yugoslav crisis within the framework of The Hague conference, is biased and by no means a wise resort to ultimatums, particularly as there are no valid reasons for such an approach.

Serbia has never said that it does not want to take part in The Hague negotiations. On the contrary, it has welcomed the efforts of the EC to the extent that they help resolve the Yugoslav crisis, of course, by providing good services and not at all by imposing a solution.

The road that was chosen by the ministers yesterday is simply an introduction to the intention to impose a solution through the proposed European peace plan. This road compromises the EC, deprives it of its legitimacy as an unbiased and fair mediator, and reveals the intention of, by siding with one party in the Yugoslav conflict, handing down judgments, threatening, and punishing, even though no one from the international community has given them or can give them the authority to do this.

In other words, the EC actually wants to prevent well-argued talks in The Hague by the crude application of force. The Hague is where, we thought until yesterday, negotiations are held with respect for arguments and Yugoslav realities. One of the key Yugoslav realities is the idea that the problem of the future of Yugoslavia cannot be resolved by respecting the right to self- determination only of those peoples who want to create independent states by leaving Yugoslavia, but also of those peoples who want to continue to live in a common state.

The minimalist EC concept cannot be imposed as the only possibility without negotiations being held and concluded through the force of argument. At the same time, the thesis that the European Council of Ministers has been pushing forward that Serbia is blocking the work of the conference simply does not correspond to the truth. Serbia is actually the one asking for an exchange of arguments on legal and political issues, in contrast to Slovenia, which rejects any talks at all at The Hague meeting except for those on bilateral arrangements with a group of states or a state which emerges from The Hague negotiations, and accepts only the point in Carrington's document which talks about recognizing the independence of Slovenia.

That this is not a case of Serbia's so-called lack of cooperation can be concluded from what has been happening in the conference's working groups, where, when it comes to common interests, one can talk more about similar views with several republics rather than the isolated position of Slovenia. At the same time, Carrington's document has not by a long shot expressed the demonstrated consensus, particularly in the economic commission.

All this leads to the conclusion that the EC wants to impose its own strategy for resolving the Yugoslav crisis by a shortcut and not through discussion of fundamental issues. Like all shortcuts, this could lead to new tension and deterioration.

It therefore remains unclear how the EC thinks that it will resolve the key issue of the future of Yugoslavia while leaving Serbia and its arguments out of this agreement. Whose interest does this serve? It certainly is not in the interest of peace and stability in the Balkans.

Threats, blackmail, and pressure as a response to the principled positions which have not been challenged with arguments say more about the morality of those who make use of them rather than the weaknesses of those at whom they are aimed.

Radical Party Rejects Hague Document

AU2910165491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] At its news conference the Serbian Radical Party announced that it may rename its Crisis Committee the War Committee. Radovan Pantovic reports:

[Pantovic] [Words indistinct] ...that Serbian people are at war with Croatian people. The head of the Crisis Committee and (?vice president) of the Serbian Radical Party, Ljubisa Petkovic, said that the volunteers organized by the party have so far spent about 100,000 days [as heard] on the battlefields. The head of the Crisis Committee did not answer the question on the total number of volunteers. It was said nevertheless that in the last two months one person was killed and seven slightly wounded. The volunteers of the Serbian Radical Party are mainly under the command of the Territorial Defense of Serbian regions. The majority of them are on the territory of eastern and western Slavonia.

Any peace forces sent to Yugoslavia would be treated as aggressors, Ljubisa Petkovic said. The Serbian Radical Party assessed the latest decision adopted at The Hague conference as an ultimatum to Serbia. Vojislav Seselj, president of the party, did not attend the news conference today because he was busy.

Kosovo Prime Minister Bukoshi Profiled

AU2910202591 Pristina BUJKU in Albanian 24 Oct 91 p 3

[Enver Maloku article: "A Reticent But Influential Man"]

[Text] At its 19 October meeting, the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo elected Dr. Bujar Bukoshi chairman of the provisional multiparty government of the Republic of Kosovo. Dr. Bujar Bukoshi's biography resembles that of many intellectuals who have matured in Kosovo in the last two decades, and who have for some time been leading the Albanian movement in Kosovo.

Dr. Bujar Bukoshi was born on 13 May 1947 in Suhareke [Suva Reka] to a family well known for its fine traditions. He completed primary school in his birthplace and his secondary education in Prizren. He graduated with distinction in his specialized medical studies in Belgrade, and later won a one-year scholarship from the Berlin Senate. He completed his doctorate in Berlin.

He worked for a time as a doctor in Gllogovc [Glogovac], and then as a specialist surgeon and teacher at the Pristina Medical Faculty. He has attended many symposia and congresses in Yugoslavia and abroad, while his academic articles have been highly appreciated by world medical experts.

During his work at the Medical Faculty, like his other Albanian colleagues, Dr. Bujar Bukoshi strongly opposed the efforts and pressures of the Serbian communist regime to enlist medicine in the service of day-to-day politics. These pressures and threats began in 1981, when doctors were told to handle wounded Albanian demonstrators as enemies even in their clinics. Because of the many data about the police and military terror against the Albanian people that emerged from the faculty's clinics, especially in the spring of 1990 when more than 700 Albanian schoolchildren were poisoned, the regime ejected by force the majority of Albanian specialist doctors from their workplaces, including Dr. Bujar Bukoshi.

Like many of his colleagues, Dr. Bujar Bukoshi signed the famous appeal of 215 Albanian intellectuals in 1989, protesting the forced amendments to the Kosovo Constitution. During the so-called political differentiation organized by the communist regime, intellectuals at the Medical Faculty demonstrated their determined resistance against this campaign, which was essentially aimed against Albanians.

From Medicine to Politics

Dr. Bujar Bukoshi was one of the founders of the Pristina Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms and also one of the founders of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [LDK] in December 1989. The Council played a major role in affirming the cause of the Albanians and Kosovo. Through statements, reports, and eyewitness accounts, the world was made aware that organized state terror of genocidal proportions is being waged against the Albanians in Kosovo. The facts and testimonies of the Pristina Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms were also proved by many international bodies.

As a political activist, Dr. Bujar Bukoshi was also one of the founders of the LDK and a member of its innermost leadership. This party was founded at a time when the communist regime and dictatorship ruled in Yugoslavia, especially in Serbia and Kosovo. The LDK's foundation in December 1989 led to the downfall of the communist system and its party in Kosovo in record time. No weapons besides the Army and the police were left to Serbia in its war against the Albanians.

The chairman of the provisional multiparty government of the Republic of Kosovo is seen by people who have worked with him as a courageous man of principle and few words. He is seen as the kind of person who wants to work hard and talk little. He is someone who steers clear of preoccupation with the media and confrontation. His interviews or statements for the media can be counted on one's fingers. In a polemical article for a Zagreb magazine a long time ago, he drew attention to the possible reimposition of converted former communists, who had and still have the support of certain media.

Dr. Bujar Bukoshi has made many friends among distinguished academic and political personalities. He speaks and writes several languages.

Muslim Leaders Demands European Observers

LD2910215991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2122 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Sarajevo, October 29 (TANJUG)—President of the Muslim National Council of Sandzak Sulejman Ugljanin on Tuesday demanded of the European Community to send observers to this area as soon as possible.

Sandzak is an area spreading to three Yugoslav republics - Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Ugljanin sent the demand to the president of the Hague conference on Yugoslavia, Lord Carrington. His motives, as he said, were 'violations of human rights and citizens rights' of Muslims in Sandzak.

He claims that the 'Muslim people was exposed to maltreatment' at the time of the referendum on the autonomy in Sandzak.

He requested of Carrington to intercede with the authorities in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia and Montenegro to 'stop with the terror.'

The National Council of Sandzak organized last weekend a referendum on 'full political and territorial autonomy' of Sandazak.

The authorities of Serbia and Montenegro have banned the referendum because it ran contrary to the constitutions of the two republics. The Muslims, nevertheless, voted in secrecy in the majority of municipalities, and according to the claims of the leaders of the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) a vast majority opted for autonomy.

In the Montenegrin municipality of Bijelo Polje, charges have been brought against five local leader of the SDA on grounded suspicion that they have committed the criminal act of unconstitutional change of borders between Montenegro and the neighboring Serbia.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Northeast Autonomous Region Elects Assembly

AU2910193691 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] The Assembly of the Autonomous Region of Northeast Bosnia, comprising the communes of Ugljevik, Lopare, and Bijeljina, was founded in Ugljevik. The initiative of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina for regionalization was thus realized here, too. The Assembly has 35 deputies from these three communes. Professor Miladin Stjepanovic was elected president of the assembly last night. He is currently president of the Ugljevik Communal Assembly.

Bosnian Parties Forum Demands Government's Removal

LD3010061891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2258 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Sarajevo, October 29 (TANJUG)—The forum of the parliamentary parties in the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina demanded on Tuesday [29 October] night that the parliament remove the current three-party government, "over the failure in the economic and overall policy."

The republican government is made up of the three leading national parties—the Party of Democratic Action (SDA), rallying Moslems, the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) and the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ).

As set out, the forum is to demand of the republican government to form a multi-party transitional government and step up preparations for early elections.

The forum is made up of the Socialist Democratic Party (formerly communists), the Alliance of Reformist Forces (the party formed by Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic), the Liberal Party (formerly Organization of Socialist Youth) and the Alliance of Socialists.

Party of Democratic Action Proposes Referendum

AU2910192191 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] The Party of Democratic Action of Bosnia-Hercegovina today issued a communique which states, among other things, the following:

The club of the deputies of the Serbian Democratic Party in the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina has announced a plebiscite of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina on the status of this nation in the republic and its possible status in the future Yugoslav community.

As the fate of Muslims, Serbs, and Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina is inextricably tied, the Party of Democratic Action holds the view that the true democratic solution is that a general referendum of all citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina be held instead of a party plebiscite. One of the question posed to the citizens at this referendum, which would be convened by the Assembly of Bosnia- Hercegovina in accordance with law, could be formulated in the way the Serbian Democratic Party has formulated it for the proposed plebiscite.

In connection with, this we appeal to the leadership of the Serbian Democratic Party to accept our proposal for a joint referendum of the citizens and peoples of Bosnia-Hercegovina. We believe that the separation from the historic, cultural, and political entirety of Bosnia-Hercegovina will benefit neither the citizens nor peoples of this republic, and that insistence on unilateral and categorical stands threaten the vital interests of all.

This was stated in the communique of the Party of Democratic Action.

Platform on Bosnian Position in Future Country

LD2910161191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1503 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 29 (TANJUG)—The parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina today officially informed the federal parliament that Bosnia-Herzegovina had become 'a democratic sovereign state of equal citizens, nations—Muslims, Serbs and Croats, and members of the other nations and nationalities.'

The 'Platform on the position of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the future order of the Yugoslav community,' which the Bosnia-Herzegovina parliament forwarded to the federal legislature today, states that 'the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina is single and indivisible' so that the republic's borders can by changed only by the decision of the republican assembly' in keeping with the will of the citizens of the entire republic' expressed in a referendum.

The document stresses that 'the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as a modern law-ruled state, has the need and interest in achieving economic and political integration with all other such states.'

The 'platform' specifies that 'political integration with the member-states of the current SFR of Yugoslavia is most natural and of the highest priority.'

The document which the Bosnia-Herzegovina parliament adopted on October 14 this year contains a provision which states that Bosnia-Herzegovina 'will always and in accordance with international norms be neutral in a possible conflict between the republics of Croatia and Serbia.'

The republican parliament members of Serbian nationality and the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina reacted to the decision on Bosnia-Herzegovina's sovereignty by forming a Serbian parliament, which they linked to the federal authorities in Belgrade. The Serbs living in Bosnia-Herzegovina do not want to break away from Yugoslavia.

Muslim View on Republic's Plebiscite

LD2910232691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2253 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Sarajevo, Oct 29 (TANJUG)—The Party of Democratic Action (PDA), which rallies Muslims in the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, today proposed to the Serbian Democratic Party (SDP) to, instead of a plebiscite of the Serbian people, agree to a referendum of all the citizens and peoples of the republic.

SDP President Radovan Karadzic on Saturday [26 October] announced that Serbs in the central republic would on November 9 and 10 hold a plebiscite "for remaining in a common federal state with all Serbian lands" and others who wish to remain in it.

Power in ethnically mixed Bosnia-Hercegovina is shared by three national parties—the PDA, the SDP and the Croatian Democratic Union (CDU).

The PDA has proposed that the referendum be set by the republican parliament and that all the citizens and peoples of Bosnia-Hercegovina, "whose fate is permanently linked," participate in it.

The PDA said in its statement that "separation from the historical, cultural and political integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina is not to the benefit of either the citizens or the peoples of the republic" and that "perseverence on single-party stands threatens the vital interests of all."

The parliament of Bosnia-Hercegovina proclaimed the republic's sovereignty on October 15, without the presence of the deputies of Serbian nationality. The document was passed by PDA and CDU deputies.

Kljujic Claims Group Training To 'Remove' Leaders

AU2910190491 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Expressing satisfaction with the successful conclusion of the talks on lifting the blockade of the port of Ploce, Stjepan Kljujic, president of the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina and member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, today said at a regular news conference organized by this party that he will direct his future activities toward the normalization of oil supplies. According to him, the Croatian Government has promised that it will make it possible for oil destined for Bosnia-Hercegovina to be refined in Rijeka and Solin.

The Croatian Democratic Community will set up a committee for rebuilding Croatian villages in Hercegovina. Stjepan Kljujic also told reporters that he had learned from reliable sources that a special group of 36 people is being trained in Han Pijesak who would remove the leaders of national parties when the time is right.

Rail, Road Traffic Blocked, Delayed

LD2910184291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1037 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 19 (TANJUG)—The community of Yugoslav Railways (JZ) confirmed this morning that a mine had exploded last night in the railway station of Cazin-Srbljani on the line linking Bosanski Novi and Knin, in an area where the line runs through the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. [words indistinct] No one had been hurt in the explosion, which had damaged the trackwork in the station and halted traffic between Bosanski Novi and Knin.

The JZ said that the list of lines on which traffic had been halted completely on account of the situation in the country was growing, [as received] particularly in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

Trains traverse the Mostar-Ploce line in Hercegovina only during daylight hours, while there is hardly any traffic at all in Slavonia, Eastern Croatia, even in the daytime.

No fewer than 2,813 goods wagons were blocked at various points on the Yugoslav railway network this morning.

Road traffic is also proceeding with much difficulty in many areas. According to reports by the Yugoslav motorists' federation, the Belgrade-Zagreb trunk highway is closed on the Kut Na-Nova Gradiska sector, while many roads in Lika and Dalmatia, particularly sections of the Adriatic highway in Croatia, are either closed to traffic or difficult to negotiate.

Almost all roads are completely closed to traffic in the Dubrovnik area, as well as at several points around Trebinje in Hercegovina.

Most links between Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia over the river Sava are also closed owing to damaged or destroyed bridges, with the only link said to be still operating, albeit with no guarantee for how long, that between Bosanski and Slavonski Samac.

Montenegro

Citizens Ask Leaders To Review Hague Document

LD3010111391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2332 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 29 (TANJUG)—More than a thousand Montenegrins living in Belgrade on Tuesday [29 October] asked the leadership of the Republic of Montenegro to review its decision to accept The Hague document on political future of Yugoslavia.

At a meeting in Belgrade Montenegrins upheld Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic who alone of the six republican leaders did not accept the document. Milosevic assessed the proposal as an illegitimate attempt to efface Yugoslavia.

Montenegrin Spokesman on Support for Croatians

AU2910170791 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 26 Oct 91 p 4

[Interview with Veljko Bulajic, chairman of the Committee of Montenegrins in Croatia, by LIDOVE NOVINY correspondent "cic;" place and date not given: "We Can Expect Many More Turnabouts"]

[Excerpt] [LIDOVE NOVINY] [passage omitted] A week ago, the Montenegrin parliament decided on independence and sovereignty, and President Momir Bulatovic agreed in The Hague to the EC peace plan. Commentators described this on the one hand as "a hit below the belt" of Serbia, and on the other as a political game of Serbian President Milosevic. What do you think?

[Bulajic] There are very few pro-Serbian politicians in Montenegro. Because of the pressure by the Army and the old structures, however, it will not be easy to implement the decision on independence. The parliament complied with the mood of 600,000 Montenegrins, particularly the intelligentsia and industrialists, who suffer by the blockade on cooperation with Croatia, and with the traditional ally Italy.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] There also is an information blockade between Croatia and Montenegro. Can you confirm reports that the Montenegrin Government is removing the reservists from around Dubrovnik and that 612 soldiers joined the Croatian Guard?

[Bulajic] The soldiers mutinied. It even came to a clash between the Serbian and Montenegrin units in a village near Dubrovnik. The Montenegrins refused to attack the village of Slano. There is no longer a single reservist in Konavli near Dubrovnik. Conscripts from Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia, and Herzegovina participated in the offensive against Dubrovnik. [passage omitted]

Macedonia

Vice President Georgijevski Meets U.S. Envoy

LD2910164491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1442 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Skopje, 29 October (TANJUG)—Macedonian Vice-President Ljupco Georgijevski today received U.S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia Warren Zimmerman at his request.

According to the office of the Republican Vice-President, they exchanged views on certain aspects of the current political and security situation in the republic [of Macedonia] and in the country, and also on efforts Macedonia is investing in Yugoslavia and abroad for resolving the crisis. Both sides agreed that activities of international institutions should be intensified in order to prevent further escalation of armed conflicts.

According to a statement, Vice-President Georgijevski informed Ambassador Zimmerman about reasons for his resignation as the Republican vice president. He said that this move does not mean that he will disappear from the Macedonian political scene. On the contrary, this is a way for Georgijevski to get more involved in activities leading towards democratization and the gaining of independence of the Macedonian state, the statement says.

Deserters Given Deadline To Return to Units

LD2910160191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1156 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Skopje, 29 October (TANJUG)—Regarding the fact that some Macedonian leaders have called on soldiers to desert, I would recommend those young men to return to their units. If they return to their units by the first of November they will not face any consequences, Commander of the Third Army District Lieutenant Colonel General Milutin Kukanjac said at a press conference in Skopje today.

General Kukanjac said that he can firmly promise that the deserters will not be punished. However, he added, those who do not accept this appeal will surely have problems "because the law-governed state must function."